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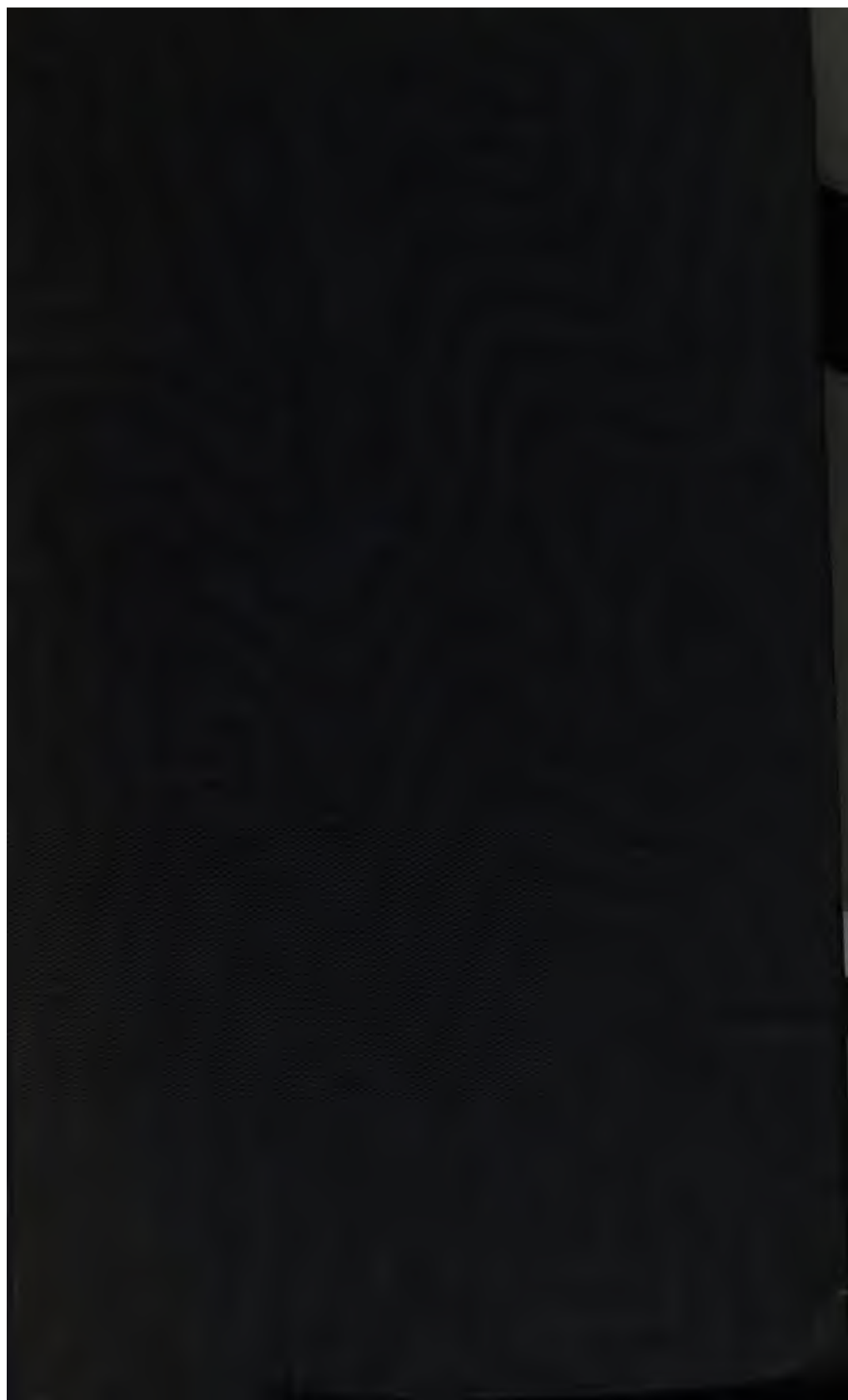
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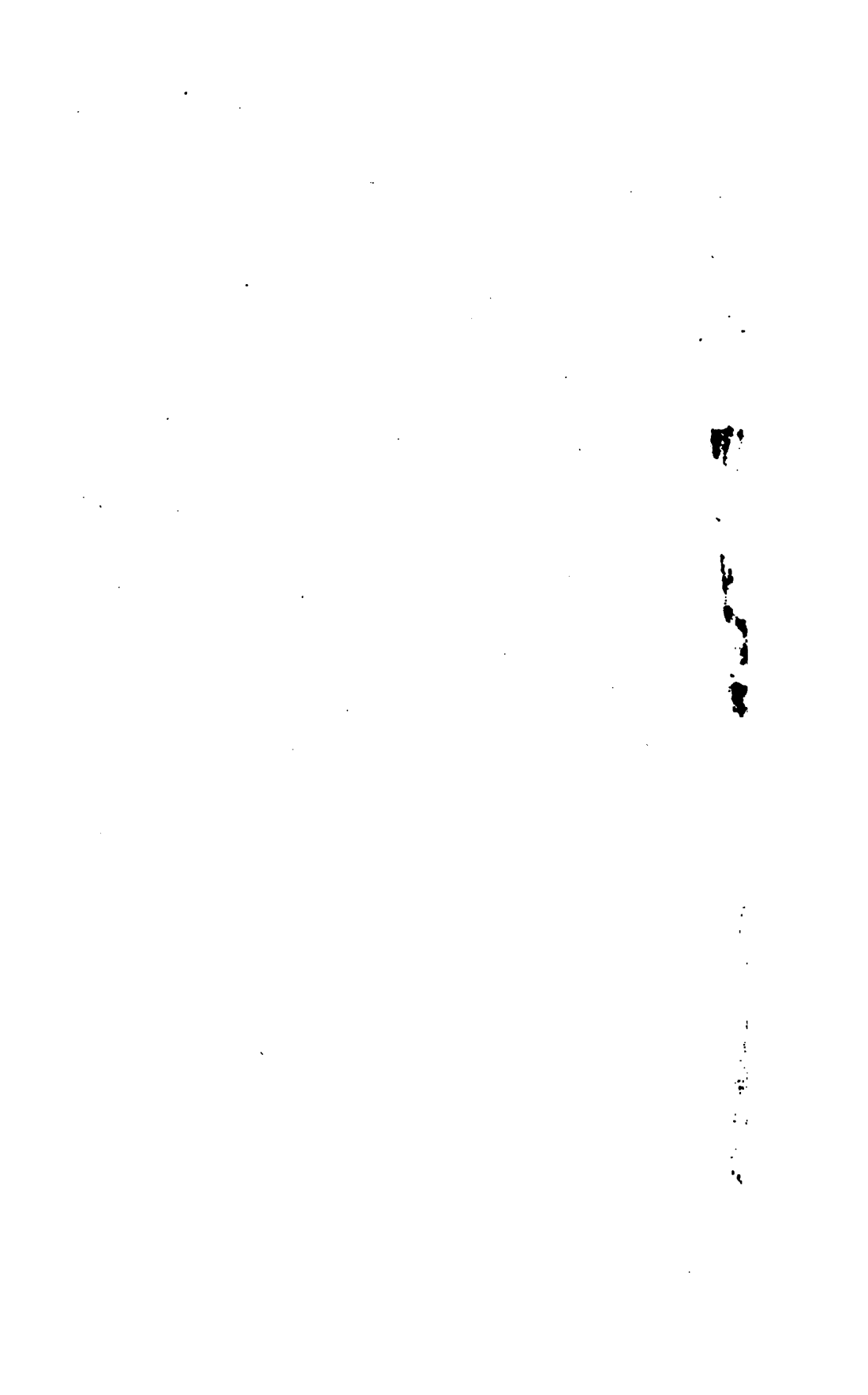
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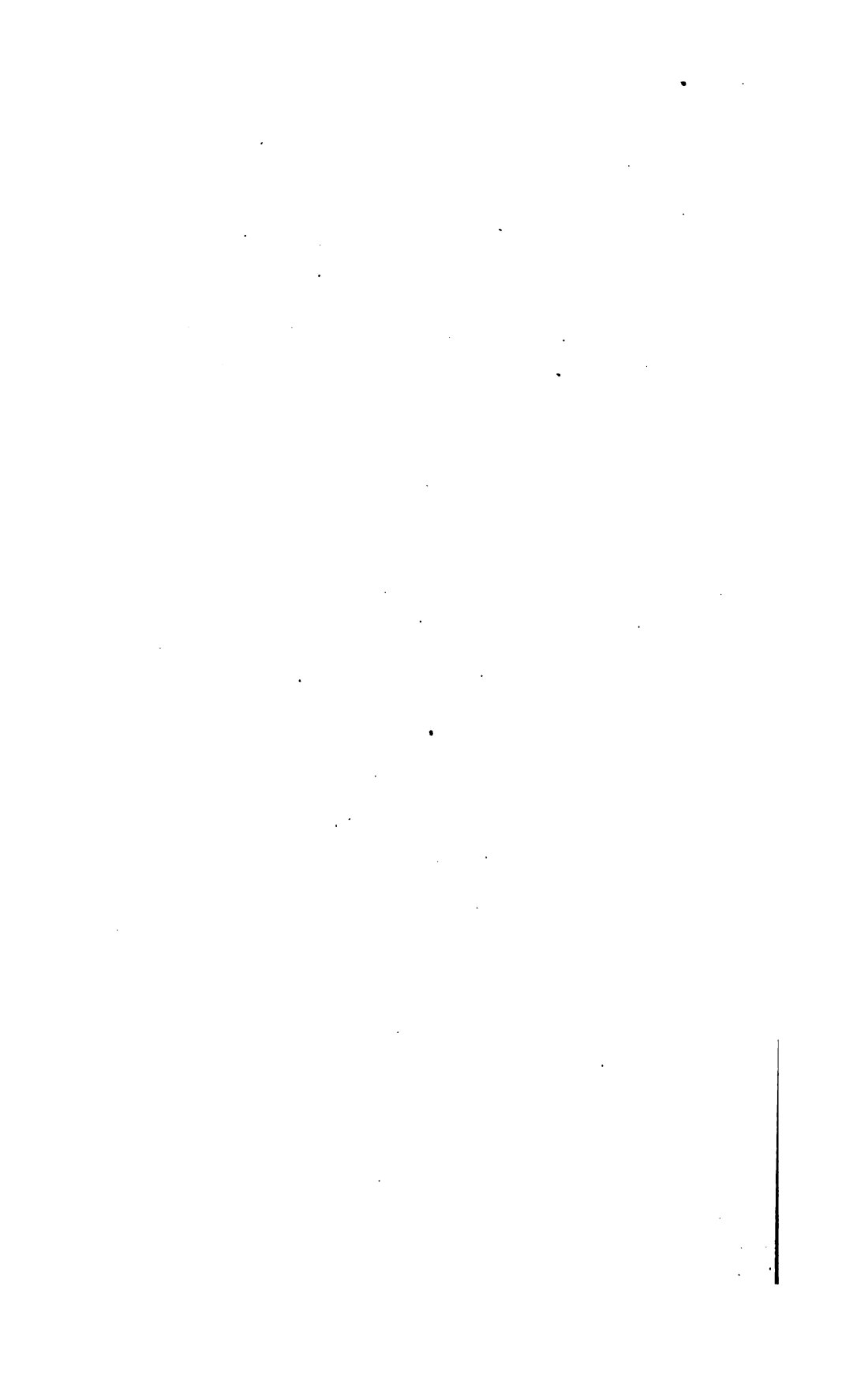


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SHAKESPEARE'S

EDITORS AND COMMENTATORS.

BY THE

REV. W. R. ARROWSMITH,

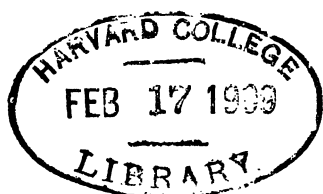
INCUMBENT OF OLD ST. PANCRAS.

LONDON:

J. RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.

1865.

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CHAPTER I.

IN a letter to Nicholas Okes the printer, inserted at the end of Heywood's "Apology for Actors," a treatise published in 1612, speaking of William Jaggard the writer observes, "The infinite faults escaped in my booke of Britaines Troy by the negligence of the printer, as the misquotations, mistaking of syllables, misplacing half lines, coining of strange and never heard of words, these being without number, when I would have taken a particular account of the *Errata*, the printer answered me, hee would not publish his owne disworkmanship, but rather let his owne fault lye upon the necke of the author."

Now, whatever reason Heywood had to feel himself aggrieved, a comparison of his *Troja Britannica*,*

* Mr. Dyce appears not to be acquainted with this poem of Heywood's, or he would hardly have ventured the bold assertion:—"I have therefore not the slightest doubt that wherever 'statue' occurs, while the metre requires three syllables, it is an error for 'statua.' Our old poets no more thought of using 'statue' as a trisyllable than 'stature,' a third form of the word which is not unfrequently found." Note 102. P. 217 of Vol. 5. Ed. 1864. For, notwithstanding Heywood's fretful outburst at his printer's carelessness and selfish perversity, "statue" never occurs in the *Troja Britannica* as a trisyllable, but it has the diæresis, *e.g.* :—

printed by William, with the first Folio Shakspeare, printed by Isaac Jaggard, will show that the like complaint might far more truly have been preferred

Of marble statuës many thousand more. Cant. 5. St. 111.

Two hundred of his traine his eye hath seene

All statuës. Cant. 6. St. 42.

Placing his statuë that his prayse did sing,

In Romes hye Capitoll. Cant. 8. St. 10.

On which Apolloes statuë dwels for aye. Cant. 10. St. 46.

Besides, in Note (50) to *Love's Labour's Lost*. P. 243-4 of Vol. 2, after reporting that, "Whitely (in the old eds. 'whitly'*), has been considered by some critics as a questionable reading, Rosaline being, as we learn from several places of the play, dark-complexioned,"—critics, by superlative euphemism thus named, so devoid of all judgment as to deem "whitely" akin to fair, although, if common observation may be our guide, whiteness, whether by contrast or not, is a peculiar attribute of dark features,—Mr. Dyce proceeds to remark that, "on the other hand Walker (*Crit. Exam. &c.* Vol. 2, p. 349), cites the line with the reading 'whitely:'" and quotes from North's Plutarch, "lean and whitely-faced fellow:" whence two things may be concluded, one, that the epithet "whitely" is not rare, since it was picked up by Walker in a note of Malone's, on a passage in Act 2. Scene 9, of the *Merchant of Venice*, without any suspicion by that critic that it would ever be wanted to support the authentic reading in *Love's Labour's Lost*; another, and that which has provoked the present mooted of a point to be discussed hereafter, that Mr. Dyce is evidently not aware that this adjective "whitely" occurs in Cant. 5. St. 74, of the *Troja Britannica*:—

"That hath a whitely face, and a long nose,

And for them both I wonderous well esteeme her."

Which lines do not merely furnish an instance of the epithet "whitely," but, in such company as parallels Shakspeare's

* Misprinted in the Camb. Ed. "whitley."

by Heminge and Condell against the latter, even after every allowance is made for the greater liability to mistake in the persons, their exits and entrances, the multifarious dialogue, the broken sentences, and varied phraseology of a play. It would therefore be manifest injustice to fasten upon the editors of the Folio 1623 blunders for which its printer Jaggard is clearly accountable, or in any measure to make those a ground for impugning the good faith of its somewhat partial representation, that "where (before) you were abused with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued thē.

coupling of it with "a wanton." If the pertinency of this argument be lost upon "some critics," it only adds further proof, where none is needed, that they have no pretensions to that name, nor the faintest calling to interfere with Shakespeare's text: for their enlightenment, however, it may be stated that though "whitely" and "fair" be not near allied, "wantonness" and "a long nose" are, at least in our early dramatic writers, from whom principally old readings must be made good. That Mr. Collier should turn "whitely" into "witty" discloses more puerility of artifice than defect of knowledge; while its transformation into "wightly" by the Cambridge editors should be a warning to them and their compeers not to embark in novelties, nor quit their proper province, but stick to the drudgery of collating and compiling, for which they may not be meanly qualified, and forbear to intrude upon even the outskirts of the domains of philology, wherein they have neither part nor lot.

—And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers”—yet how many annotators, how many editors of Shakespeare, down to the present time, visit the sins of Jaggard upon Heminge and Condell; do by them what Heywood deprecated with respect to himself, “let the faults of the printer lie upon their necks.” And because “the dram of base doth all the noble substance often draw to his own scandal,” hence the slur derived from the printing-house upon their credit as editors has left no parts of their work free from question; sound and unsound alike have in turn been doubted, and tampered with: the upshot is, that in many places Shakespeare’s genuine language has been discarded, and the text alloyed with adulterate mixtures; exclusive of that long array of unvitiated readings whereof the meaning has been balked. The customary speech, and syntax of the 16th century are sometimes supplanted, another while hybridised, every where measured by a diction and syntax prevalent in the 17th, 18th and 19th; a mishap to some extent unavoidable, because the dialect of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow, undergoes a change so gradual that it is not noted; variation is lost in resemblance; and to Englishmen reading English an obsolete style is still unconsciously identified with each successive ever-widening divergence from it: but such has been the illiterate pedantry of officious notemongers that sentences of a construction not less current now than 260 years ago are

evermore cavilled at, and either misexpounded, or if the true sense be hit, the words are wrenched, and sprained, and untruly sorted. An ill-printed book, but above all, minds unseasoned with Elizabethan literature have wrought the biggest half of this mischief; the only remedy for it is, what many students, many interpreters, and not a few editors of Shakespeare sadly lack—reading, extensive reading, to quell meddlesomeness, and beget self-distrust. By dint of that Englishmen will begin to comprehend, how huge is the debt of gratitude owed by their countrymen to Heminge and Condell.

A little taste at the outset will be enough to evince that Shakespeare, to be understood, must be read in the light, and by one habituated to the light of his times: thus, to ‘occupy’ and to ‘do,’ verbs that in the reign of Elizabeth and her successor were suggestive of “most maculate thoughts,” have long lost the ambiguous import, which ribald pleasantry for a season lent them, and now, as of yore,—as when Shakespeare was a boy,—may be uttered in ears never so captious, without risk of perversion; and although “soon” in the west of England to this day, as is said,* still signifies “evening,” yet elsewhere, or to persons unversed in the nomenclature of the Tudor-Stuart æra, such a signification is unknown, and would be sought to as little purpose in the Minsheus† of a prior, or a later date, as in the

* Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words.

† Minsheu's Ductor in linguas.

grammar of a Bullokar or a Murray would the fact, attested by a contemporary of Shakespeare, a Head-Master of St. Paul's School,—that the use of “soon” as an adverb, in the familiar sense of “betimes,” “by and by,” or “quickly,” had, when he wrote, been eclipsed with most men by an acceptance restricted to “nightfall:” the statement of this witness is worth quoting in his own words. In the comparison of adverbs, at page 28 of his *Logonomia Anglica*, ed. 1619, Gil writes — “Quickly cito, sooner citior aut citius, soonest citissimus aut citissime, nam ‘soon’ hodie apud plurimos significat ad primam vesperam, olim cito.”

Bating errors of the Press, most of which an average English scholar might, as he reads, amend for himself; and forgiving Jaggard his execution of a task from MS., which the reprint of 1807 failed to match from letter-press, it is a great treat to ramble over the Folio, photolithographed by Day, without let or rub of notes, wherewith bile, or dulness, conceit, or immaturity in the critic has overlaid and depraved so many editions of the greatest poet of the world.

Horne Tooke spoke but the truth, when he said, “it is much to be wished that an edition of Shakespeare were given *literatim* according to the first Folio; which is now become so scarce and dear that few persons can obtain it. For by the presumptuous license of the dwarfish commentators, who are for ever cutting him down to their own size, we

risque the loss of Shakespeare's genuine text ; which that Folio assuredly contains ; notwithstanding some slight errors of the press which might be noted without altering." *Diversions of Purley*, ed. 1798, Vol. 2. p. 52.

Forestalling a remark to have been made in due course, and with a view to support this charge of Horne Tooke's against the commentators ; to push it to the minutest particulars ; to prove that they either find, or make a flaw in the clearest and most perfect sentence, a passage shall be here quoted from "*Measure for Measure*," a play unpublished in Quarto, but not more noticeable for the evident accuracy with which it has been handed down to us in the Folio, than for the strange, and manifold mistakes, committed by subsequent editors and glossarists in their treatment of it.

In Act 3. Sc. 1, Claudio says to his sister,

"Why giue you me this shame?
Thinke you I can a resolution fetch
From flowerie tendernesse? If I must die,
I will encounter darknesse as a bride,
And hugge it in mine armes."

This speech of Claudio is so pointed in the Folio, so by Mr. Halliwell, so by the Cambridge editors, (with a note that in his edition of 1857 a full stop is substituted for the mark of interrogation at "tenderness" by Dyce after Heath), and so by Mr. Dyce in his edition now in progress. Mr. Halliwell, adopting Capell's explanation, says, the meaning is, "Why do

you thus put me to shame? Think you my resolution is to be formed by eloquent pathos? Claudio is now indignant that his sister should imagine he had not courage to prepare for death without being reasoned into it. This interpretation seems more natural than Heath's, "I must desire that you, on your part, will do me the justice to think that I am able to draw a resolution from this tenderness of my youth, which is commonly found to be less easily reconciled to so sudden and so harsh a fate." So far Halliwell; and fair fall the wit that finds "flowery tenderness" in Isabel's reasoning; or thinks to cloak a transparent repugnancy between the two, under the appellation, "eloquent pathos;" as if that were as warranted a synonym for the one, as it may pass for a tolerable description of the other; nor sees withal how absurd it would be in Claudio to emulate the pathos that he decries: but happiest head of all be his dole, that by altering a point, with Heath, can treat "flowery tenderness" as the usual attribute of manhood, and conceive the fetching thence a resolution to die to be a feat either natural or suitable. The same mind that could characterise Claudio's age and sex by flowery tenderness, is not such as would extract from it the courage to meet an untimely and a shameful death. How Mr. Dyce interprets the passage can only be surmised; the punctuation of Heminge and Condell, which in his first edition was dislodged by Heath's, is reinstated in his second, his present edition, but it may be again over-ruled in

his "Addenda;" for there is an odd mixture of positiveness and vacillation in his comments, venial in greener heads, that is very mortifying to such, and they are not few in number, who entertain the highest respect for his plain sense and undoubted scholarship. However, you may boldly say that not an editor or annotator of them all has apprehended the poet's meaning: certainly this has not been done by either Heath or Capell: and had the right key to it, a sufficiently obvious one, been known to others, the true purport of Claudio's words would not be given for the first time now.

"Flowery tenderness" was rightly understood by preceding expositors to be a figurative expression, but they missed to recognise in it an abstract for woman, her loveliest and most native, her first best quality. As with the ancients, a point by and by to be noticed, "masculine virtue," we are told,* is personated by the man Perseus, so with us moderns, and namely here in Shakespeare, by "flowery tenderness" woman is expressed. Out of some dozen apposite places that establish this—one,—but such a one as once to have seen, much more to have edited their works where it is found, forbids the thought that it could ever be forgot: the sentiment is itself so just, and the handling of it so exquisitely characteristic of the writers. In Act 5. Sc. 2. of Beaumont and Fletcher's "Thierry and Theodoret," Thierry says to his mother,

* Jonson's *Masque of Queens*.

"Oh mother, do not lose your name, forget not
 The touch of nature in you, tenderness,
 'Tis all the soul of woman, all the sweetness."

After the high Roman fashion Isabel lectures her brother about death, and obtrudes her fears of his courage to meet it; whereupon poor Claudio naturally enough resents this imputation upon his manhood, and disdains to be beholden to his sister, to a woman, to "flowery tenderness" for a resolution to die; outbidding withal the tone of superiority assumed by the weaker sex in an extravagant boast, soon to be falsified, that he would "encounter darkness as a bride, and hug it in his arms."

How finely are the austere precepts, the brave admonitions of a maiden that wished "a more strict restraint upon the sisterhood, the votarists of St. Clare," contrasted by the poet with Juliet's timid and sensitive apostrophe to the "injurious love," which respites a sentenced criminal for a few hours from execution, to spend the interim, as Spenser has it, "half dead with dying fear," a life so punctually limited, that in Shakespeare's nicer reckoning, its prolongation, which is "its very comfort," was "still a dying horror"!

Here again we have lighted upon a second passage now for the first time explained aright. It is a crucial instance, and from among two or three more in the same play, such as affords a delicate test for discriminating between the reader who is at home in Shakespeare's English, and one that has studied it

but as a strange tongue. The sense is utterly missed by every editor and commentator, early or late, learned or unlearned, who has essayed to give it. Hanmer first corrupted the text, and that is the sum of his success. Mason and Dyce applaud and adopt his corruption with a like result. They are as wide of the true meaning as Johnson, and Steevens, and Tollet, and Halliwell. What Shakespeare wrote and what Heminge and Condell printed, now to a tittle reprinted by Mr. Staunton, is this:—

Duke.—"There rest:

Your partner (as I heare) must die to morrow
And I am going with instruction to him,
Grace goe with you, *Benedicite.*

[*Exit.*

Jul.—Must die to morrow? O injurious Loue
That respits me a life, whose very comfort
Is still a dying horror.

Pro.—"Tis pittie of him."

[*Exeunt.*

Mr. Dyce's note is as follows: "The folio has '*Oh injurious Loue,*'—well does Mason observe that both Johnson's explanation of this passage (with the old reading) and Steevens' refutation of it prove the necessity of Hanmer's amendment (*law*), which removes every difficulty, and can scarce be considered as an alteration, the trace of the letters in the words *law* and *love* being so nearly alike—the *law* affected the life of the man only" (referring to Johnson's hypothesis that Juliet's life was respited on account of her pregnancy) "not that of the woman: and this is the injury that Juliet complains of, as she wished to die with him." It will be seen that

neither Mason nor Dyce accounts for the words "a life whose very comfort is still a dying horror," nor for the Provost's reply, "'tis pity of him." The replacement of "love" by "law" might be justified by similarity of letters, but the obstacles to their exposition of the text thus vitiated are left as insurmountable as before.

The Cambridge editors and Mr. Halliwell retain the authentic reading "love," the former without comment, the latter interpreting thus: "Love here as in other instances is merely used in the sense of kindness. 'Injurious love' is nearly equivalent to the very common phrase, mistaken kindness." So far not amiss; although more nearly synonymous with "injurious love" would be "cruel kindness," words by which, with yet graver meaning, the *Times* in a leader of the 5th of November '64, reflected public opinion of the attempt of certain Germans to save a murderer from the gallows. But Mr. Halliwell goes on: "O injurious kindness which spares my life, a burden to me worse than death, whose very comfort in the love of Claudio is still a dying horror. 'Tis pity of him, that is of Angelo, that he should be so severe." Whatever be the meaning of this cloudy paraphrase—the text is sunlight to it—Mr. Halliwell, in common with the rest, understands the respited life to be Juliet's; he is however singular in endeavouring to reconcile the Provost's reply, "'Tis pity of him," with Juliet's alleged bewailment of her own hard lot; and is entitled to credit for

confronting a difficulty, which has not been faced, perhaps not observed by any but him: he is likely to be as singular in the twist which he gives to the Provost's words, and in applying them to Angelo.

Had Juliet's reflection not been intelligible in itself, the Provost's answer would convict the editors and commentators of inexcusable blundering. Let jocular Grumio catch at the ambiguity in his master's bidding, "Knock me here soundly,"* to make Petruchio the subject of the knocking meant by him for the gate, but let not a grave bench of Aristarchuses enforce Grumio's syntax elsewhere, to the marring of the sense, with its usual accompaniment, disturbance of the text. Petruchio's "me" in "knock me here soundly," and Juliet's "me" in "respites me a life," bear just the same import. It is a very hackneyed mode of speaking, not peculiar to the English language, used both in prose and verse, either in light or serious discourse.

And here one cannot but remark how preposterous is that system of education which instructs a boy in the usage of a Greek pronoun, and leaves him at ripe age, and even to grey hairs, insensible of a precisely similar use of the same pronoun in English; which teaches him at sixteen to construe readily from a Greek Play such an instance as occurs for example in the second line of Sophocles' *Œdipus Tyrannus*,† and finds him at sixty, in a parallel

* "The Taming of the Shrew," Act I. Sc. 2.

† *Τίνας ποθ' ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θαύζετε;*

instance from Shakespeare, so completely at fault about the words "respites me a life," as to be driven to maintain that an unrivalled dramatist, a bard of bards, had represented a young lady, whose life the law could not be said so much to spare, as not to touch at all, one who was to "live the lease of nature, and pay her breath to time and mortal custom," who might survive her speech for half a century, speaking of that life as "respited," and its "very comfort" throughout fifty years to come, as "still a dying horror"! "Cowards, indeed, die many times before their deaths," but even their life is not a life-long horror of dying, not a life-long death-pang. The sum is this,—“must die to-morrow,”—the Friar’s tidings reiterated by Juliet, words under which lie couched the painful suspense of death, the poise and lingering descent of the executioner’s uplifted axe, those few but pregnant words are the thesis to which her after discourse is wholly confined, and every syllable of that discourse would be as true and just in the mouth of the Provost, or of a commentator, as in Juliet’s: what prompted the utterance of it was a “fee grief due to her single breast,” her lover’s death the next day: of that grief as the Provost’s answer, “’tis pity of him,” is the appropriate acknowledgment, so is it incompatible with any other version of her speech than that given above.

But to return whence was digressed. Granted that one or two Quartos furnish better readings in a

few instances than the Folio; granted that they contain passages omitted in that edition which we should be sorry to lose, or which may be wanted to fill up a gap in the sense; granted that the wording and sentiments of the author's MS. were not scrupulously retained in the Play-house copies, or, that both have in the Folio here and there undergone a little "Buttering;" one of which last things, unless Ben Jonson be not only inaccurate but untruthful, must have happened in the case of the passage from Julius Cæsar, ridiculed in his "Staple of News," and again formally censured in his "Discoveries;" granted also that such misprints as that of "*clamour*" for "chamber your tongues," in the Winter's Tale, which supplied Taylor the Water-Poet with a scrap of verbose nonsense,* may be far from solitary, yet is Horne Tooke's assertion still true, that "it is much to be wished that an edition of Shakespeare were given literatim according to the first Folio."

A ready means of testing the soundness of this position may now be had: let the reader contrast Mr. Howard Staunton's edition of Shakespeare, or indeed any other,† with what, under that gentleman's supervision, is already reprinted by Day, and reprinted with unerring accuracy, from the edition by Heminge and Condell: of the verdict of the English scholar

* "Sir Gregory Nonsense his Newes from Noplace." Taylor's *Workes*, Ed. 1630, p. 1.

† The comparative accuracy of recent reprints of the 1st Folio forms no part of the question.

there cannot be a doubt. Nothing could surpass this reprint but what we have not got, and are not likely to have, a text selected with judgement from the earliest Quartos, and first Folio; their various readings given at foot, as well as the rare amendments, and passing rare they are, from later editions.

Horne Tooke inveighs against the dwarfish commentators of his time, but they are giants beside the punies of ours. Then increased acquaintance with the idioms of Shakespeare's day tended to uphold the original text, where now a more discursive, but superficial, ill-digested reading seems prone to blemish and unsettle it. With one or two distinguished exceptions, and those not always true to themselves, the modern explorers of Shakespeare's text, finding in it much that is to them uncouth both in thought and expression, love better to tax their ingenuity in guessing what he should have written by what they can apprehend, than to search painfully for what he meant by what he did write. *Poeta nascitur non fit*, is verified also of the critic: for one that is at the pains to qualify himself by research to interpret, a score undertake on one foot to re-write Shakespeare, and it is hard to determine whether the enterprise or its success is more to be admired. To correct *Magnificat*, and teach Shakespeare how to fashion his speech, have both one disease; and if the intensity of the disease may be gathered from the spread and aggravation of the symptoms, things are becoming worse and worse. Time was when Zachary Jackson appeared like an owl at mid-day, a sight to be won-

dered at ; now he is in some repute, and has a host of copyists—indeed the Cambridge editors pronounce “ the judgment of the Author of ‘Shakespeare’s genius justified’ worth all consideration,” and accordingly make up their hotchpot of various readings from trash of his, and of his copesmate, Andrew Beckett, the rank folly whereof disedges all relish for the toothsome Quarto and Folio collation, set before their guests in such ill neighbourhood. To patronise quacksalvers like them, and record their nostrums, belongs not to the masculine duty of an editor of Shakespeare, but savours strongly of the office assigned by Iago to his pattern woman, “ to suckle fools and chronicle small beer.” Simple vain Zachary loved his own barn better than Shakespeare’s house ; the smoke of his conceited noddle was pleasanter to his eyes than the clearest fire of his author’s intellect. So it fares with all the sort of them : professing to reverence the memory of Shakespeare, they violate his remains ; the monument reared by his own genius they chip and deface, they plaster and daub, or in Zachary’s phrase “ they justify,” and to get themselves a mention, they bescribble it all over with their names. The Cambridge editors appear to spare no pains to propagate this vainglorious itch ; every additional volume brings its additional Jackson or Beckett. Nor is this prurient meddlesomeness, this hankering after notoriety confined to the illiterate rout, who subject the grey authority of the Folio to their childish alphabetical quirks ; whose sole materials of

criticism are syllable and sound; their only organs of judgement, the eye and the ear; which shuffle 'gnat' into 'quat,' 'part' into 'dart,' 'broom' into 'brown,' 'degrees' into 'diseases,' 'Jupiter' into 'pulpiter;' empirics, whose acquaintance with an author does not so much as embrace the evidence supplied by his repeating and expounding of himself: no, its taint has infected those who have proceeded masters of their art, who, if they do not always, when they might, illustrate Shakespeare by Shakespeare, have yet for that purpose ransacked chap-books and broad-sheets, have scoured the by-ways and dark corners of contemporary literature, have served a lifelong apprenticeship to the subject, and both with their own countrymen and with foreigners are its recognised oracles.

Expende Hannibalem—put Mr. Collier into the scales; say what weight is to be attached to his appraisal of a suspected reading, that can garnish an edition of Shakespeare, the consummate product of his maturest studies, with notes of this stamp? In Vol. 1. p. [265, he says of the Merchant of Venice —“ there is a remarkable proof of its popularity in the work of a rival dramatist, Webster; it is in his “ White Devil,” (printed in 1612, but when first acted is uncertain), where Vittoria, on her trial, makes a reference to the heroine of Shakespeare’s “ Merchant of Venice,” and complains that she is

“ So intangled in a cursed accusation,
That my defence, of force, like Portia’s,
Must personate masculine virtue.”

In the original editions Portia's is misprinted Perseus, but the Rev. Mr. Mitford suggested the excellent emendation, which the Rev. Mr. Dyce (i. p. 65) was too timid to adopt, though he had the courage to print nonsense."

It is Mr. Collier's hard lot never to display less erudition, or worse judgement, than when he is most peremptory and magisterial. To this suicidal attack upon him Mr. Dyce rejoins, "Mr. Mitford's conjecture, though Mr. Collier pronounces it "excellent," I believe to be unquestionably wrong. Apart from the extreme improbability that Webster would make Vittoria allude to a character in the Merchant of Venice—the passage itself shows that neither Shakespeare's Portia, nor (as I suggested in my second ed. of Webster) Portia, the wife of Brutus, is the person in question. Whoever that personage may have been, she like Vittoria had to offer a "defence against some heavy accusation" under which she laboured—as to the expression "masculine virtue" I may notice that Heywood in the Fifth Book of his Various Historie concernynge Women, p. 224. ed. 1624, treats "of warlike women and those of masculine virtue," but nothing is found there which throws any light on the speech of Vittoria."

Mr. Dyce may, according to Mr. Collier, have "had the courage to print nonsense," but sense or nonsense, he printed what Webster wrote; and though Mr. Mitford prefer Portia's to Perseus, and Mr. Collier dub it an "excellent emendation," yet since

Mr. Dyce undertook to edit Webster, not Mitford or Collier, and since Webster might not care to father Mitford and Collier's excellent emendation, as being of the mind that "a civil doctor" is not the fittest type of masculine virtue, Webster's readers, if he have any, should be left in undisturbed possession of what Webster wrote. Mr. Collier, among those qui novo marmori ascribunt Praxitelem suo, can manufacture and antedate a thousand new readings in Shakespeare, if such be his humour; and his readings may pass muster with Professor Mommsen, and the rest, who like Shakespeare accommodated to modern parlance, or recast in the grotesque mould of a Jackson or a Beckett. He can also, for lack of better, suborn evidence of the popularity of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice out of Mr. Mitford's corruption of Webster's text, but he cannot avoid the proof that Webster wrote Perseus not Portia's. Let the reader turn to Jonson's "Masque of Queens celebrated from the house of fame by the Queen of Great Britain with her ladies at Whitehall, Feb. 2. 1609," three years before Webster's White Devil was printed, and he will find in it what Webster found before him, how "a person by this time descended in the furniture of Perseus, and expressing heroic and masculine virtue began to speak," with a note by the author that "the ancients expressed a brave and masculine virtue in three figures (of Hercules, Perseus, and Bellerophon) of which," adds he, "we choose that of Perseus armed as we have described him out

of Hesiod, Scut. Herc. See Apollodorus the grammarian, liber 2. de Perseo."

Webster's allusion may be far-fetched, and its wording somewhat queer, but otherwise where is the difficulty? Vittoria excuses herself for being forced to lay aside modesty and womanhood, and represents that in her defence she has been driven to set forth, like Perseus, the language and bearing of masculine virtue; in plain words, she says that she must conduct her defence with the rough vigour of a man (Perseus, not Bellario being her model) instead of the bashful weakness of a woman. The inference suggested by this dispute about Perseus appears to be, that one may edit Shakespeare twice without having read Ben Jonson once. And indeed his gratuitous discovery of the imperfect knowledge possessed by him of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, of Shirley, and Middleton, as well as of Ben Jonson, abundantly proclaims Mr. Collier's peculiar qualifications for his accomplished work, the disfigurement of Shakespeare. At p. 67 of Vol. 1. in a note on a line from Act 4. Sc. 1. of the Tempest, criticising Mr. Dyce's edition of Middleton's "Spanish Gipsy," he affirms in his dictatorial way—"on p. 196. 'rage' of the old copies ought to be 'rags,'" to which Mr. Dyce successfully retorts—"as to 'age' which I substituted for 'rage' of the old copies—

Alv.

"I could wish

For one hour's space I could pluck back from time

But thirty years, that in my fall

Thou might'st deserve report: now if thou conquer'st
 Thou canst not triumph, I'm half dead already
 Yet I'll not start a foot.

Louis.—Breathes there a spirit
 In such a heap of age?"

The alteration is one of several important changes made with a pen in my copy of the first 4to by some early possessor, who, as he has also inserted additions to the text, had in all probability seen a manuscript of the play. The edition of 1816, like Mr. Collier, altered "rage" to "rags;" but see the context; and compare in "The Old Law" by Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley

"Take hence that pile of years."

Act 2. Sc. 1."

The context alone puts Mr. Collier's reading out of court, but his evil genius betrayed him to shew that he had overlooked, or forgotten, or never read to any purpose Beaumont and Fletcher's "Maid's Tragedy," where, in Act 1. Sc. 2, the context is quite as tolerant of "rags," as in Middleton's "Spanish Gipsy," although "age" is not there misprinted "rage."

Melantius.—"That heap of age which I should reverence
 If it were temperate; but testy years
 Are most contemptible."

The like may be observed of Shirley's "School of Complement." Act 3. Sc. 1.

Selina.—"Whither had reason so withdrawn itself
 I could not make distinction of a man
 From such a heap of age, aches, and rheum?"

Mr. Collier's rage for rags has led him to give

"rags" for "rage" ("rebellion—guarded with rage") in Act 4. Sc. 1, of the 2nd part of K. Henry 4th, where, though he have Mr. Sidney Walker, Mr. Dyce, the Cambridge editors, and all the rest to abet him (Mr. Halliwell excepted) it will hereafter be shown that Heminge and Condell's text is without "brack," and not to be mended by "rags."

It is not however of his country's speech as employed in the writings of her dramatists alone, but universally, in what way soever transmitted, that Mr. Collier's knowledge is defective; and he is so amusingly unconscious of it that he does not flinch from thrusting out of Shakespeare words met with every where besides, and introducing in their room others of his own coinage, or the refuse of some previous commentator. Thus in "Measure for Measure," Act 5. Sc. 1, the Folio gives

"Make rash remonstrance of my hidden power."

"Unquestionably the printer's error," says Mr. Collier, "for 'demonstrance': he used the wrong preposition. Shakespeare elsewhere has 'demonstration' and 'demonstrate,' but this is the only place where demonstrance occurs." It is so; the only place; and Mr. Collier put it there, having borrowed it from Malone's remark—"As I am not aware of remonstrance being used in this sense I would read demonstrance." But though Malone knew no other instance, both he, and his editor, Boswell, kept the authentic word in the text: to drive it thence was reserved for Mr. Collier, who did know one. For just as Shake-

speare does here, so does Shirley in his "Hyde Park" use "remonstrance"—"another misprint for demonstration," ingeminates Mr. Collier, "the same carelessness of the old compositor as to the preposition having caused the error in both instances." But in Act 1. Sc. 2. of "The Imposture" by the same dramatist, as Mr. Dyce insists, the word is found again with a like meaning. Now would it not be marvellous if but thrice over "the carelessness of the old compositor as to the preposition" had, for a counterfeit of Malone's, caused the misprint of a sterling and current word; correctly stated by Mr. Grant White "to have come only comparatively of late years to mean expostulation"? Mr. Halliwell observes, "Remonstrance seems to be used here in a peculiar sense of show or discovery from the Latin 'monstro.'" Mr. Dyce relates that Gifford pronounces the word in this sense "catachrestic" (an epithet more applicable to half the words in our language) and that Walker asks, may not the word have been in use in the sense of "exhibition"? Behold, so probable to thinking is the use, that a mere metre-monger, dismounted from his hobby, can divine, and very little search, as will be seen, is needed to ascertain it.

How often, when his own reading does not bestead him, would recourse to his Dictionary spare many a commentator much idle speculation, even to the making what erewhile seemed extraordinary, or recondite, surprisingly common-place, and apparent!

And mark how Shakespeare's true text is needlessly bandied to and fro by neglect of this vicarious and cheap expedient. In 1859 Mr. Staunton edits "Measure for Measure," with "demonstrance" in the text, pursuant to Malone's suggestion and Collier's example; in 1863 the Cambridge editors register Mr. Staunton as the first to have made this change, (erroneously, that dull eminence was pre-occupied by Mr. Collier); in 1864 Mr. Staunton in a second edition replaces the original word, with the somewhat disingenuous foot-note: "So the old text, and rightly, though Malone and other writers persist in reading remonstrance." It is plain then that Malone's castaway was adopted both by Mr. Collier and Mr. Staunton; the one proud to father, the other now eager to disclaim all partnership in the foundling. But thus do orts and leavings of past editors become the main stock of present ones; and texts of the Folio which have run the gauntlet of more skilled judgements are held fit material on which to try the prentice hand. Both Johnson and Richardson adduce examples of the noun "remonstrance" in the not very abusive, nor yet uncommon sense of manifestation, or declaration. These being easily accessible need not be repeated here, but a few more shall be added for the sake of the insight they afford into the literary endowments, which, by popular allowance, license a scholiast or editor of Shakespeare to cashier the old text.

In the "Divil's Charter," by Barnabe Barnes, 1607, the Duke of Candy says,

"Those (warres) are the same they seeme, and in such warres
Your sonne shall make remonstrance of his valour,
And so become true champion of the Church."

ACT I. SC. 4. Sig. B. 3.

In "The Lost Lady," 1639, the "Physitian" says,

"makes his escape, and is received
Of the Spartana king with all remonstrances
Of love, and confess'd service."—P. 4.

In Taylor's Sermons, 1653-4, we find

"They that perished in the gainsaying of Corah were out of the condition of repentance; but the people that were affrighted with the neighbourhood of the judgement, and the expresses of God's anger manifested in such visible remonstrances, they were the men called to repentance."—Page 162. Sermon 13. Part 2.

In South's Posthumous Sermons, ed. 1744, we encounter

"No: the atheist is too wise in his generation to make remonstrances and declarations of what he thinks."—Sermon 3. p. 78. Vol. 9.

Whatever be the authority of Barnes or Barclay, it cannot be denied that Taylor and South are good bail for Shakespeare's use of "remonstrance," though to Malone it be unexampled, to Gifford catachrestic, and to Halliwell peculiar. Neither must it be supposed that remonstrance is some abnormal birth, uncoun tenanced by other members of its family. Both Johnson and Richardson give instances of the verb, signifying to manifest, or declare; and in Act 5. Sc. 2. of Jonson's "Every Man out of his Humour,"

Amorphus says, "Lo, you have given yourself the dor. But I will remonstrate to you the third dor, which is not as the two former dors, indicative but deliberative." So also Jeremy Taylor, "I did insist the longer upon this instance that I might remonstrate how great and how sure and how preserving (misprint for persevering) mercies a pious father of a family may derive upon his succeeding generations." Page 47. Sermon. 4. Part 2. And again, "In order to which end my purpose now is to remonstrate to you the several states of sin and death together with those remedies which God had proportioned out to them." Page 199. Sermon. 16. Part 1. We likewise find it in the translation of Rabelais by Urquhart and Motteux. Book 3. chap. 34: "to tell them in downright terms and to remonstrate to them (orig. remonstrant), with a great show of detestation of a crime so horrid, how their husbands were jealous." At page 116 of the English Mirrour, by George Whetstones, 1586, we meet with "remonstration," and at page 12 of "Death's Sermon unto the Living," by Charles Fitz-Geffry, 1662, we meet with "remonstrable," "thus you see the Doctrine is for evidence most remonstrable."

If then Horace's rule hold good, enough, and more than enough, has been alleged to vindicate Shakespeare, Heminge and Condell, Jaggard, and the old compositor, and to negative Gifford's charge of catachresis, as well as Halliwell's notion of peculiarity. But to sift the subject to the bottom, ab-

solutely to justify this employment of the word remonstrance, to shew that it is genuine and proper, as well as that it was customary and received, it may be asked; is there any solecism in the composition of the verbs "revere" or "resolve"? or will it be said that "recommend" and "recompense" are open to objection, because classical Latin knows no such compounds as "recommendo" or "recompenso"? On the same ground is there catachresis in "revestry" or "regreet"? Cannot an actuary in casting accounts "rebate," or when hungry take his "repast," and speak so too, without abuse of speech? Gifford would not and Mr. Collier cannot deny that "renie" and "renege" were once in use, ("denege" never), where now, "renegade" excepted, forms with the prefix 'de' are only prevalent. And it is worthy of remark that although Vossius devotes two chapters, the 20th and 21st in his 4th book de vitiis sermonis, to compounds of 're,' wherein he affirms "Renego pro nego, denego plane culpandum;" yet, whether from oversight or not, he makes no mention of "remonstro," a compound as little occurring in good Latin as "renego," but in middle and low Latin by no means hard to meet with. Besides the passages cited by Du Cange under the words "Remonstrantia" and "Remonstrare" take the two following: In a note, Book 2. chap. 6. of Rabelais by Urquhart and Motteux, explaining why the Limosins are called turnip-eaters, the gloss quotes John Hotman as reporting of them, that "cum audirent quod papa erat

vicarius Dei, immo quod ipsemet erat Deus (ut patet per canonistas) miserunt sibi legationem ad remonstrandam paupertatem patriæ suæ, in qua fere nihil crescit præter rapas et castaneas." And in Part 3. Sec. 2. Memb. 2. Subs. 1. of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, he has in a note "Tho. Campanella *Astrologiæ*, lib. 4. cap. 8. articulis 4 and 5 insaniam amatoriam remonstrantia multa præ cæteris accumulat aphorismata."

And now, if it were not an ungracious office to lecture a patriarch pupil, and bid him new-learn his lesson, notwithstanding the entire league between formal ignorance and grave obstinacy one might fairly call upon Mr. Collier to do "the old compositor" right by undoing the wrong which in this instance at all events, unless he would put out his own, as well as other people's eyes, he must know that the Queen's English has sustained at his hands. That gentleman's Shakespeare is not specially under review, but the labour of a life devoted to the task, and the manner in which it has at last been executed by him, warrant the prominence given to its blots in these introductory remarks; of which one design is to exhibit the degeneracy of the existing breed of expositors. Among the comments of those who ranked highest in an older and abler race nothing like the blemishes, thick strewn throughout Mr. Collier's last edition, nothing simile aut secundum is anywhere to be found. The names of Theobald, Steevens, and Malone would have slept in the same

grave, to which their coevals and posterity have justly consigned the memories of Jackson and Beckett, had they wrought no better for the elucidation of Shakespeare, and therewithal for the rescue of good English from the mongrel character which conceit and ignorance are ever bent to impress upon it. To clear up an obscurity the approved practice was to borrow light from Shakespeare's time-fellows, where none was reflected by himself, and not without more ado to proscribe every hard saying as spurious; or to assume a misprint, jostle out the old reading, and foist into its place whatever Hob or Dick may judge fittest. Day by day we are more and more receding from the phraseology of Shakespeare's age, and so new difficulties are daily raised, new changes in the text proposed to meet the usage of the hour; with these has grown up, if they have not given rise to it, a taste for cavilling and cobbling, nicknamed acute and felicitous, but in truth the poor make-believe of a shallow unlettered criticism: to this taste Mr. Collier has catered, in his last edition of Shakespeare, with a prodigality by so much more censurable, as it is more mischievous, than the slavish adherence to the old copies, which for the most part marked his first. He has reversed the characteristics of life's gradation. ("degrees," one dare not say for one's head, because of its affinity, both in letters and sound, to "diseases." K. Henry 4th. Part 2. Act. 1. Sc. 2.) In him the caution of youth has been succeeded by the rashness of age; the once crabbed

textuary, that was wont to blanch the most glaring misprints, is now become the licentious innovator to brand the sincerest readings. It is then of Mr. Collier, as the representative and ringleader of a school injurious to Shakespeare, to the old drama, and to the integrity of the English language, that this notice has been taken; it is because his authority has exercised a contagious influence upon minds that should have been proof against its working; because, as shall be forthwith indicated, an editor of Shakespeare, qualified above all others for the office, has not escaped its blight.

Appositely enough, as some no doubt will think, the case exhibiting an instance of this, and which we are now about to canvass, is from "Much ado about Nothing:" though the statement be somewhat prolix, the reader will be in fault if it does not prove instructive also. In Act 5. Sc. 1. of that play, according to the Quarto (1600), and the Folio, we read—

"Scambling, outfacing, fashion-monging boys."

In the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Folios, three in number, but one in effect, each faultier than its predecessor, and none of any authority, as likewise in all the modern editions down to Mr. Knight's, "fashion-monging" becomes "fashion-mong'ring." It is not a matter of any importance which mode of spelling may be adopted, so far as the sense is concerned, but Shakespeare being in the hands and on the lips of all,

upon his writings, next to our version of the Bible, and to the book of Common Prayer, depend the perpetuation of old, and the defence of calumniated English. What avails it that "monging" is found in the "Funeralles of King Edward the Syxt," 1560.

"Your monging of vitayles, corne, butter and cheese."

In the "Coblers Prophetie," 1594.

"And the money monging mate with all his knaverie."—

Sig. B. 3.

In Lord Brooke's "Treatise of Religion," composed many years before, but first printed in 1670.

"Book learning, arts, yea school divinity

New types of old law-monging Pharisies."—Stanza 67.

In Gee's "New Shreds of the Old Snare," 1624.

"But the Pope's benediction, or any the least touch of sainting, miracle-monging fiction is able to infuse the highest worth into the basest baggagely new-nothing to hang upon the sleeve of admiring, adoring, ghostly children of the Jesuites."—Pp. 49-50. What avail these, or any number of like instances, buried in writers that are never read? Banish the true and genuine form "monging" from Shakespeare, it becomes an outcast from our language, and leaves a gap in the eldest branch of a most useful family of words.

"Monging" is the present participle regularly inflected from the Anglo-Saxon verb 'mangian' to traffick: in the example cited above from Baldwin it is the very same word as "mangung," merchandise. Again from the verb mangian we get "monger,"

now used only in composition, but in Shakespeare's time occurring as a simple noun, *e.g.* in Ben Jonson's "Tale of a Tub."

Hills. "Here was no subtle device to get a wench!
This chanon has a brave pate of his own,
A shaven pate, and a right monger y'vaith."

Act 2. Sc. 1.

In Philemon Holland's translation of "Plinies Naturall History," 1600. "Againe it falleth out that sometime one rich munger or other (*prævalens maniceps*) buying up a commoditie, and bringing it wholly into his owne hands for to have the monopolie of it raiseth the market and enhaunceth the price."—Book 33, p. 485. Notwithstanding these examples, and no doubt others might be adduced, the separate subsistence of "monger" will be found on reference to our Grammarians and Lexicographers to be denied by some, and questioned by most of them. Within twenty years after Holland's translation, the learned but crotchety master of St. Paul's School, Alexander Gil, in the chapter on compounds of his "*Logonomia Anglica*," ed. 1619, says, "*munger inseparabile est & illum denotat qui rem venalem habet ut fishmunger, cetarius.*" Somner attaches some sort of authority to this idle assertion. Lye calls the word old English still found in composition. Johnson cautiously says "monger is seldom or never used alone," while Todd quotes the passage from the "Tale of a Tub," and adds that "Wicliffe, he thinks, uses it somewhere in the good sense of a trader."

As to "mongering," that form also is quite legitimate, being the present participle of "mangheren," termed by Kilian an old low Dutch word; but why should an inflection from the more elementary and indigenous root be shouldered out by one from what is in all likelihood but an offshoot from it?

In justice to the several annotators and editors of Shakespeare it is desirable, however tiresome, that their comments should be set before the reader. Malone notices indeed that the "old copies,"—meaning the Quarto and Folio, for he was too sagacious so to designate the three Folio republications that followed—read "monging," yet he put mong'ring in his text: to Mr Knight is due the credit of restoring the true form, with this brief and sensible note—"Fashion-monging," so the original copies; but always altered to fashion-mong'ring. The participle of the Anglo-Saxon verb meaning to trade, would give us monging; as the verb gives us the noun signifying a trader—"monger." Vol. 2. p. 444. He is followed by Mr. Halliwell, with a note to the same effect, and by the Cambridge editors, who, with their usual fidelity, the highest praise of their work, ascribe "monging" to the Quarto and Folio, "mongering" to the three subsequent editions. Mr. Collier's is a pattern note; the whole piece, his edition of 1856, for spirit, veracity, and scholarship, sorts with it. "The Rev. A. Dyce," says he, "in his 'Few notes,' &c. p. 46, would have this compound spelt 'fashion-monging,' merely because he so finds it in Wilson's

'Cobler's Prophecie,' 1594. This is to desert the etymology of the word; and the same reason would require adherence to every old and exploded form in any other word. In Wilson's comedy we may be pretty sure that the letter 'r' in mong'ring was accidentally omitted." Vol. 2. p. 71. Upon this note of Mr. Collier's the subjoined comment is made by Mr. Dyce in his edition now in progress. "In my *Few Notes, &c.*, p. 46, I have said, "Here Mr. Knight alone of the modern editors follows the old copies in printing fashion-monging—and rightly, &c. : but now in considering the inconsistency in spelling which those old copies exhibit, I think that the other modern editors have done more wisely. Mr. Collier in the second edition of his *Shakespeare* writes thus on the present passage—(see above)—one of Mr. Collier's many unprincipled attempts to render me ridiculous in the eyes of his readers; few of whom could be expected to know (what Mr. Collier could not fail to know) that in the present passage all the old editions, the quarto and the four folios (Mr. Dyce is mistaken about the three last) are uniform in having "fashion-monging." Vol. 2. p. 155. It is to be regretted that Mr. Dyce should have veiled his first and sounder judgement to Mr. Collier's worthless assertion; it is yet more to be regretted that either Mr. Collier, or any one else, that thinks himself competent to edit *Shakespeare*, should ever dream that even with the credulous and illiterate his bare word will either avouch or refute an etymology, or that his surmise

about letters dropt out, or prepositions mistook, will countervail manifold evidence that nothing of the kind has occurred.

Before commencing a detailed and orderly comparison of the four editions of Shakespeare now issuing from the Press, namely, the reprint of Heminge and Condell's by Staunton, Halliwell's, the Cambridge, and Dyce's, with others in highest repute, it only remains to make good what was affirmed, that in interpreting Shakespeare his readers seem to have lost the power to follow the same rules of construction as they observe when writing themselves, or interpreting what is written by each other. To exemplify this, we will take a particular but not a rare usage of the three propositions "in," "to," and "into," which have altogether caused more spilth of ink (for every drop has been wasted) than might suffice to comment Shakespeare from title-page to colophon.

Hard above all has been the fate of 'in'; let but Iago say that for soldiership his comrade Cassio is "a fellow almost damned in a fair wife"—that his qualifications for the post of lieutenant would be almost discreditable in a woman; let him add withal, as though on set purpose to preclude every chance of being misunderstood, that Cassio possesses no more strategic knowledge than "a spinster," when lo! a goodly troop of commentators, clerk and lay, bishop and bookseller, lawyer and antiquary, critic professional and critic amateur, home-born and outlandish, men who have read much, and men who

have read nothing, swarm forth to bury this simple remark under a pile of notes, that from first to last contain not an inkling of its purport. The passage is well known, but it will be of service to bring it under the reader's eye.

“(A fellow almost damn'd in a faire wife)
That never set a squadron in the field,
Nor the devision of a battle knowes
More then a spinster.” *Othello*, Act 1. Sc. 2.

The words are to be taken circumspectly, not sent gadding after Bianca, or no one knows who; their meaning must be sought and found within the compass of the line in which they stand. Had Shakespeare written “A fellow almost damned in a raw lad,” the dullest brain could scarcely have missed the imputation that Cassio's military abilities would be almost disallowed, condemned as hardly up to the mark in an inexperienced boy: or had the words run, “a fellow almost damned in an old maid,” then, though it might not be understood how an officer, after Iago's report, of Cassio's incapacity, should be almost damned in one of her sex and condition, she at any rate could not, like the “fair wife,” have been discovered at Cyprus in a young courtesan. Or not altering a syllable, with only a slight change in their order, let us place the words thus;

“A fellow in a fair wife almost damned,”

by this disposition of them, the reader is pinned to their true construction: the alliance between Cassio and the fair wife is closer than the commentators

suspected; they harp upon conjugal union, Iago speaks of virtual identity; they seek the coupling of two persons in wedlock, he contemplates an embodiment of the soldiership of the one in the condition of the other, and so incorporated he pronounces it to be "in a fair wife" almost reproveable; adding, in the same vein, that it was no better than might be found in "a spinster." To dwell on this point longer would be to upbraid the reader's understanding.

Although however its sense has lain hid, the authentic reading of Heminge and Condell maintains its ground, their "wife" having outfaced Hammer's "phiz"—"a fellow almost damned in a fair phiz," and outlived Tyrwhitt's "life," so well spoken of by Steevens and Ritson, the "spinster" quite forgot. Mr. Grant White has indeed printed "wise" for "wife;" without any meaning, but solely because the long *s* and *f* are often confounded: thus does every one "play at loggats" with Shakespeare's remains.

Touching the next preposition "to," it has not been so unlucky; if it be a sore stumbling-block in that line of the Duke's address to Escalus, "But that to your sufficiency as your worth is able," still a general, albeit hazy conception of the sense has been arrived at: and notwithstanding its vitiation by some editors and its question by all, both the line itself, and the whole speech to which it belongs, may, if any other, be safely upheld to have

been recorded by Heminge and Condell precisely as it was penned by Shakespeare: for no one text can there be amassed such overpowering testimony: it is thrust upon you from all sides; in Shakespeare himself it is not wanting, and in writers both of prose and verse, before, at, and after his time volumes of proof may be had. Reserving it on account of its length for another occasion, we shall conclude with the case of the preposition "into," as it occurs in Act 1. Sc. 2, of the "Tempest," thus given by Heminge and Condell:—

"Like one

Who hauing into truth, by telling of it,

Made such a synner of his memorie

To credite his owne lie, he did beleewe

He was indeed the Duke."

Now it should be premised that the punctuation of the Folio, like most books of its date, is faulty, and not otherwise to be regarded than as it tends to support, or at all events not to overthrow the sense: to read "Good:" in the third line of this play, "Good: speake to the mariners:" with the pause indicated by a colon; or to read "For why?" in the 11th verse of the 16th Psalm, and the 41st verse of the 105th Psalm (old version) as a question, though printed with a mark of interrogation, whether sanctioned or not by Cowper in his "John Gilpin," or by Henderson's recitation of that ballad, betokens ignorance not only of the old capricious punctuation, but of the significance of phrases in vulgarest use. On

the other hand, it sometimes happens that the pointing in the original copies preserves the sense, which modern editors have hopelessly stopped out. Take a notable example in "Measure for Measure," Act 4. Sc. 2. The Duke exhibits a letter to the Provost, and says, "The contents of this is the returne of the Duke; you shall anon over-reade it at your pleasure: where you shall finde within these two daies, he will be heere. This is a thing that Angelo knowes not, for hee this very day receives letters of strange tenor, perchance of the Duke's death, perchance entering into some monasterie, but by chance nothing of what is writ." So Heminge and Condell, reprinted without variance of speck or dot, by Mr. Staunton. All modern editors point the concluding words thus—"but, by chance, nothing of what is writ;"—then having by their pointing extinguished the sense, some corrupt, all misinterpret the sentence. Hanmer, at Warburton's instance, and Warburton, interpolating the adverb, "here," print "here writ:" in his present edition Mr. Dyce follows them: Mr. Halliwell makes no addition to the old text beyond the fatal commas. So also the Cambridge editors. But Mr. Halliwell gives it a most portentous meaning: like Mr. Staunton, who having newly turned "prenzie" into "reverend" therein only keeps decorum, he makes out that "writ" is here "holy writ," and signifies "truth;" because we say, to take for writ or gospel, *i. e.* take for true, therefore in this place, "nothing of what is writ," amounts to "nothing of what is true." So

that according to editors and commentators, past and present, Shakespeare makes the Duke positively affirm that Angelo knew not of his coming, that on the contrary he had that very day received letters of strange tenor, letters purposely designed to mislead him; and then in the same breath makes the Duke allege that it was by chance Angelo did not know "the truth," that it was by chance he did not know the contents of the letter in his hand, which announced the Duke's return within two days. This is to outbrave Shakespeare, not to expound him: this is to put Shakespeare not only not to speak like Shakespeare, but not even like one that knew his own mind. Let the reader be assured Shakespeare is justly chargeable with no such contradiction. According to Heminge and Condell the Duke tells the Provost that in Angelo's letters of strange tenor everything is written conjecturally, perchance of the Duke's death, perchance entering into some monastery, "but by chance nothing of what is writ," *i.e.* except as a matter of chance nothing of what is writ—nothing of what is writ in the letters received by Angelo is set down otherwise than uncertainly.

Here happily, as in other places not a few, is no room for cogging in words to get a meaning, no room for experimenting on resemblance of letters, or the clink of syllables: your critic ocular and auricular is baffled; unable to ring his changes of "close" into "glose," "remonstrance" into "demonstrance," "crime" into "grime," "a point" into "report,"

“sob” into “bob” or “fob” (a change at which all Shakespeare’s boys laughed in amazement), the verbal pedlar is out of his element, groping in the darkness which envelopes every one unfamiliar with such constructions as do not survive in modern literature.

In the above example from “Measure for Measure” we have seen how, as Chaucer sings, “the reader that pointeth ill, a good sentence may oft spill;” that in fact the sense has been lost by the addition of points absent in the Folio; but its common fault in punctuation is on the side of excess: such is the case in the passage from the *Tempest*; the line, —“who having into truth, by telling of it,” has a comma too much; for the construction is, “telling of it into truth.” There exists little or no difference of opinion as to the general purport of the whole passage, which is understood to convey the same thought as these words in South’s 8th Sermon, p. 305. Vol. 2. ed. 1697. “like those who by often repeating a lie to others come at length to believe it themselves,” or as expressed more at large, in Ford’s Play, by King Henry, touching the impostor Perkin Warbeck;

“The lesson prompted and well conn’d was moulded
Into familiar dialogue, oft rehearsed,
Till learnt by heart, ’tis now received for truth.”

Act 5. Sc. 2.

But though the sentiment be trivial, the vulgar construction in this place—“a sinner into truth,” for a sinner against truth,—has never been paralleled, and until that be done, no good reason can be given

why a different syntax, neither strained, nor infrequent, should not prevail.

Perhaps the ensuing extracts will help to facilitate the apprehension of words so joined as in—"telling of it into truth." "After a further quantity of useless butchery and carnage, and after the innumerable hospitals have been some more times filled and emptied, this truth will grow into a familiar fact, and the next thing then necessary will be to have ready prepared some feasible line of frontier which may also be *discussed into familiarity*."—The *Times*, Oct. 10, 1862. "Why thus also it is with the mind of man: after he is offended, if he will not be brought to discharge his thoughts of the offence, he may think and think so long, till he has *thought a distasteful apprehension into an action of murder*."—South, Sermon. 9. p. 281. Vol. 10. ed. 1744. "For bring all the force of rhetoric in the world, yet *vice can never be praised into virtue*."—Ibid. Sermon. 8. p. 190. Vol. 8. This use of the preposition "into," with a like use, in a contrary sense, of the preposition "out of," occurs in South above a score times; so that a perusal of that Divine's sermons alone would train the reader to an easy recognition of Shakespeare's "telling a lie into truth." But although more frequent in South than any other writer, it is by no means peculiar to him. Ben Jonson in his "Time Vindicated" has:

"Swears him into name,

Upon his word and sword, for the sole youth
Dares make profession of poetic truth
Now militant amongst us."

And in his "Underwoods,"

" Keep you such
That I may love your person, as I do,
Without your gift, though I can rate that too
By *thanking thus the courtesy to life*
Which you will bury."

Epistle to Sir Edw. Sackville.

Of these illustrations of the syntax ascribed to "into" in the line quoted from the *Tempest*, the extract from the *Times* testifies to its continued use, and all of them corroborate it. "To tell a lie into truth," the language here attributed to Shakespeare is not a whit more forced or ungrammatical than "to discuss a frontier into familiarity," "to think an apprehension into an action," "to praise vice into virtue," "to swear a youth into name," or "to thank a courtesy to life."

Prospero's observation amounts to this; that a man may forge a lie, and repeat it until it passes with him into truth, his memory thereby losing at each repetition some part of its sense of the original falsehood, until it has, in that respect, become such a sinner, has so far transgressed its duty, and foregone its office, that the man credits the lie of which he had been himself the author. But surely we burn daylight; the lines are clearer than exposition; comment and paraphrase only obscure them. For those who reject the construction asserted here, and are still disposed to maintain that "sinner into truth" is right, it behoves them to furnish at least

one sample of the usage they assume. They are to show that "a sinner into truth" is equivalent to "a sinner against truth." Let them then address themselves to the task, and to be successful, for it is not the work of a day, let them do so horse and foot, or in our grandsires' phrase, the meaning of which, as of very many other of their sayings, has perished with them, let them do so "for the heavens." In the meantime it will be safer with Halliwell, Dyce, and the Cambridge editors to repeal Heminge and Condell's banished text, which is much likelier to be genuine than the reading "unto" for "into," a corruption introduced by Warburton, and espoused by his successors of greatest note.

Vying with Warburton, Mr. Collier, in his attempt to expedite this knot, has by a further corruption knocked out the brains of the entire passage. What before imported but an error of construction he has sublimed into stark staring nonsense, not only not Shakespeare's sense, which theretofore had still been substantially saved, but into no man's sense, into sheer fatuity. It was universally admitted that according to Shakespeare a liar by lying made his memory a sinner against "truth;" no, prints Mr. Collier, in contempt of Shakespeare, of his editors, and commentators, and of all reason, "a sinner against untruth;" that is, a liar, by commission of it sins against the sin he commits; a sinner, by leasing

trespasses against leasing, his sin ; in a word, a sinner by the sin sins against the sin.

Referring to this improvement of Shakespeare by Collier, Mr. Staunton intimates that "it has not received the attention it deserves:" verily the Cambridge editors are absolved ; Jackson and Beckett are not after all such scandals to criticism.

"Those 'foolish' creatures yet do look well favoured
When others are more 'foolish;' not being the worst
Stands in some rank of praise."

Reckless of the absurdity entailed, and bent only upon obtaining an antecedent close at hand before the pronoun "it" Mr. Collier crops the syllable "un" from Warburton's "unto," and claps it before "truth." No doubt in this syllabic legerdemain there was a certain politic drift ; for had not Steevens, Mason, Malone, and Knight pronounced the sentence to be ungrammatical or involved ? Was not the pronoun "it" adjudged to be without a correlative ? and does not the quintessence of Journal literature esteem Priscian's head more than a little scratched by relative and antecedent standing so far apart, and in preposterous order too ? Sure Shakespeare was ill-advised to set "it," the pronoun, foremost, at the beginning, and "lie," its noun, hindmost, at the end of the sentence !

Now what may be forgiven to weakness offended by the unusual distance between noun and pronoun, and the postposition of the antecedent in Prospero's speech, becomes insufferable when a greater weak-

ness, in the absence of any stumbling-block, mounts into the scorner's seat, and denounces as bad grammar this reversed order of noun and pronoun, or relative and antecedent, although not only common in every writer of our own language, good, bad, and indifferent, but common in every language with which we are acquainted.

In the *Saturday Review*, a periodical that numbers among its contributors, linguists, who, on their own showing, might appear to have rocked the cradle, and to understand the first lisplings of articulate speech, to whom Psammitichus with his goats is a mere novice in the origin of tongues, there may be found every now and then supercilious glancings at the grammar of its contemporaries. Thus in its number of the 7th of Jan. '65, a cynic, snarling at an article in the *Times* upon the disappearance of the natives of Tasmania, fleers between brackets at the grammatical composition of the following sentence—"a charioteer who had been arrested by the Emperor was very popular with them, (*the only antecedent word is Thessalonica*) and the inhabitants were therefore assembled at the Hippodrome under the pretext of witnessing the races, and were then barbarously massacred, &c."

To say nothing of the ignorance of the figure metonymy betrayed by this critic, on finding in the same article Attica represented by Athens, it is pitiable to think that University training should disqualify a pupil for seeing in "the inhabitants" an antecedent

to "them;" that his classics, his *verbum personale*, should deprive him of all other notion of antecedency than what consists in a verbal sequence; that profundity and freedom of thought, the boastful prerogatives of your *Saturday Reviewer*, should be overawed and cowed by a term of art, and a grammatical symbol held paramount to the principles of which it, in common with others of the same mint, is but a lame and inadequate exponent. To be so logical it is a wonder that these writers stick so much in the rind of the letter of their grammar rules, that they are not on that very account led to a truer appreciation of the spirit of them. However it is quite obvious that the sagacity which is at fault, and cannot scent its way through the two particles "and the" to an antecedent for "them" of the *Times'* article, would have a hopeless hunt over a file of words eleven deep for an antecedent to "it" in the passage from the Tempest.

Conversant only with rectilinear stereotyped English, and for his theory of what it ought to be beholden to a style modelled upon his limited experience of what it is, your hide-bound scholar would make the "foot the tutor," just as though every custom in the common law of speech were over-ridden by certain compendious grammatical statutes, which are at most but declaratory of that, and being framed in general and comprehensive terms admit of a thousand exceptions: he does not understand that the marshalling of words, except in the most primitive and rudimentary essays, is not invariably regulated by their

dependence on each other, as that is defined in syntactical formulæ: he is unfitted to apprehend how by the transposition of noun and pronoun, or relative and antecedent, inharmonious clumsiness of construction may be avoided, and thought kept on its way in more uninterrupted, even flow, without sacrifice of lucidity. But he can libel Shakespeare, and his mother tongue; he can prate, as if no one were capable of imitating current English without the intervention of their fescue whose childish puberty is not yet emancipated from the pedagogue's ferule.

If any think lightly of these verbal questions to which Shakespeare's text has given rise, or count the time spent on them ill bestowed, let him bethink him of the philosopher's maxim, *τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων σύμβολα*: let him reflect that words are both the canal and criteria of thought; that to ascertain a speaker's meaning you must first understand his speech; and that that will not be mastered, where either by gross anachronism the properties of a language at epochs three centuries apart are blindly confused, or its artless exorbitancies girthed with the strait belt of pedantic canons.

Successive expositors of Shakespeare have run tracing each other along the groove of both these errors, every fresh relay propagating the faults it inherited and bequeathing more of its own. Hence their commentaries are chiefly valuable, where they possess any value at all, for graduating the several

stages of departure from its former self which the English language has travelled through since the days of Rowe, and for announcing the occasional recovery of superannuated idioms which at a later period has from time to time been achieved by some few of head-piece extraordinary. And yet it will not cost much pains to show that, with the command of libraries and of printing which we now enjoy, Shakespeare ought to be better edited, better understood, than he ever has been since his fellows Heminge and Condell first enriched their country with the dearest heirloom that it owns. This shall be the labour of the following chapters.

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ROBERT CARTWRIGHT, M.D.



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PAPERS ON SHAKSPERE.



ON THE SUCCESSION OF SHAKSPERE'S EARLIEST PLAYS.

IN some remarks made before the New Shakspeare Society, November 12, 1875 (the Paper announced for the evening being 'On the Three Hamlets,' by Richard Sympson, Esq. B.A.), I introduced a few extracts showing the intimate connection between 'Pericles' and the quarto, 1603; and also extracts from the 'Arcadia,' showing the intimate connection between 'Pericles' and 'Pyrocles.' As the article then read will be published, I presume in the next volume of the Transactions of the Society, I shall here merely give a few extracts which, in my opinion, justify the belief in the authenticity and early production of 'Pericles;' nor is it probable Shakspeare, on recomposing the three last acts, would have left the other two in their pristine state, if he had not had some unexplained interest therein; and which interest I hold to be their intimate connection with 'Hamlet.'

Ant. "He hath found the meaning, for the which we mean
To have his head."
"And therefore instantly this prince must die."
"Thaliard, adieu! till Pericles be dead,
My heart can lend no succour to my head."—*Pericles.*

King. "He presently without demanding why,
That Hamlet lose his head, for he must die,
There's more in him than shallow eyes can see;
He once being dead, why then our state is free."

Hamlet, 1603.

Again, the second scene of 'Pericles' commences with a soliloquy:

Per. "Let none disturb us: Why this charge of thoughts?
The sad companion, dull-eyed melancholy,
By me so us'd a guest—"

which may be regarded as a forerunner of "*To be or not to be;*"

whilst Helicanus is undoubtedly the same character as Polonius, with the same prolixity and love of aphorisms :

"Peace, peace, and give experience tongue.
They do abuse the King that flatter him :
For flattery is the bellows blows up sin."—Act i. sc. 2.

Whilst,

"Your rule direct to any ; if to me,
Day serves not light more faithful than I'll be,"—act i. sc. 2,

reminds us of :

"I hold my duty as I hold my life,
Both to my God, and to my sovereign king."—*Ed.* 1603.

But there are two sentences which prove the first two acts were also retouched or amended in 1608 :

Dio. "Oh, 'tis too true."—*Pericles*, act i. sc. 4.
King. [*Aside.*] "Oh, tis too true."—*Hamlet*, act iii. sc. 1.
Sim. "Soft, here he comes."—*Pericles*, act ii. sc. 5.
Ham. "Soft you now !
The fair Ophelia." *Hamlet*, 1604.

But according to Mr. Fleay, Wilkins wrote the first two acts of 'Pericles,' and in the same article he further adds "a test which is most important for Shakspeare—the extra syllable test, which depends on the presence of a superfluous syllable in the middle of a line *before a pause* ; as, "My wife is *nothing* ; nor nothing have these nothings" ('The Winter's Tale,' act i. sc. 2). Consequently the following lines in 'Pericles' must have been written by Shakspeare :

"To stop the air would hurt *them*. The blind mole casts
Copp'd hills towards heaven, to tell, the earth is wrong'd
By man's *oppression* ; and the poor worm doth die for 't."
"Because we bid *it*. Say, is it done ? *Thal.* My lord,
'Tis done."

"As thou
Wilt live, fly *after* : and, as an arrow shot."
"Took some displeasure at *him* ; at least he judg'd so."
"But I'll present *me*. Peace to the lords of Tyre !"—Act i. sc. 3.
"For that it sav'd *me*, keep it, in like necessity."—Act ii. sc. 1.
"And you're her labour'd *scholar*. Come, queen o' the feast."
Act ii. sc. 3.

'Pericles,' I believe, was followed by the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona' and 'Titus Andronicus ;' of course I merely mean the first sketches ; to which succeeded the first sketch of 'Hamlet,' which must also have been an early play, most probably written

immediately after the death of Sir Philip Sidney* in October, 1586, and brought out at Christmas, or at latest in March, 1586-7. This opinion is singularly confirmed by "sit tabring five years together nothing but to bee, to bee, on a paper drum." Nash's preface to '*Astrophel and Stella*,' 1591; and also by the allusion to '*Hamlet*' in his Preface to '*Menaphon*,' 1587-9.

As Melicertus in this '*Pastoral*'† appears to be accepted as Shakspeare, and Menaphon as Greene; it follows, Doron must be Peele, and Pheusidippus, Nash; whilst Lamedon would be Lyly, for whom Greene had a great admiration as the author of '*Euphues*;' and the tyrant Democles must be Marlowe; of whom Samela says to Melicertus, "I read that mighty Tamburlaine after his wife Zenocrate [the world's wonder] past out of the theatre of this mortal life, he chose stigmatical trulls to please his humourous fancies;" whilst Pesana, an old love of Menaphon's, says to Melicertus: "Abradas, the great Macedonian pirate, thought every one had a letter of Marte, that bare sayles in the ocean; which remark, to my mind, reads like an allusion to Shakspeare, as the author of the First Part of the '*Contention*;' whilst by "traumatical trulls" Marlowe is accused of writing plays very inferior to '*Tamburlaine*.'

This solution of '*Menaphon*' is confirmed by Nash's preface, wherein he highly praises Peele as the author of the '*Arraignement of Paris*,' and abuses Marlowe as thinking "to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of a bragging blanke verse." But I much doubt, if Nash includes Shakspeare among the Noverints; more probably he means a compliment to the author of '*Hamlet*;' for Greene would scarcely have allowed any remarks offensive to Melicertus; and with reference to Greene's

* The duration of the play, from the death of old Hamlet to the final scene, occupies a period of full five months, *vide* '*Footsteps of Shakspeare*,' p. 42-3; and it is a singular coincidence, Sir Henry Sidney died on the 5th May, and Sir Philip on the 17th October, 1586, just five months and twelve days intervening; and we may reasonably infer the coincidence in the period of time was intentional on the part of the poet.

† '*Menaphon*' appears to have been founded on '*Pericles*,' the long separation of father, mother, and child, their re-union, and, above all, the fulfilment of the oracle connecting it with Diana appearing to Pericles in a vision.

It is also highly probable, that in '*Pandosto*,' on which the '*Winter's Tale*' is founded, Shakspeare is pointed at in Dorastus, and Nash in the child, Garinter; and from its inferiority we may infer it preceded '*Menaphon*,' and was consequently composed early in 1587.

attack in 1592, it is now acknowledged his words have not that offensive signification as was formerly supposed. I may here add, Mr. Staunton in the *Athenæum*, February 7, 1874, points out that Chettle's panegyric applies to Nash and not to Shakspeare, of whom we have not the slightest evidence that he took any notice of the scurrilous attack; whilst Nash had called it "a scald, trivial, lying pamphlet;" consequently the line, "And his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art," can only be applicable to Nash, who was a keen satirist, and had written several pamphlets; whilst Shakspeare had *written*—that is, published—nothing at all; so how could the phrase "facetious grace in writing" be applied to him?*

As Hamlet in the churchyard says: "These three years I have taken note of it," we may infer Shakspeare had then been three years in London; and consequently 'Pericles' may have been produced as early as Christmas, 1583, or at latest in the spring of 1584; and Mr. Halliwell strongly supports the statement of Dryden:

"Shakspeare's own muse her 'Pericles' first bore."

'Hamlet' was followed by 'Henry VI.,' First Part, and the Two Parts of the 'Contention' in 1587-8. These plays are so different in character and construction to the plays that follow,

* "*Green, vile Greene, would thou wearest halfe so honest as the worst of the four (Marlowe) whom thou upbraidest : or half so learned as the unlearnedst of the three.*" (*Nash*) p. 130.

"Good sweete Oratour, be a divine Poet indeed; and use heavenly eloquence indeed; and employ thy golden talent with amounting usance indeed." (*Nash*) p. 147.

"Such lively springs of streaming eloquence; and such right-Olympical hills of amounting witte: I cordially recommend to the deere lovers of the Muses: and namely to the professed sons of the same; Edmond Spenser . . . Samuel Daniel, *Thomas Nash*, and the rest; whom I affectionately thank for their studious endeavours, commendably employed in enriching and polishing their native Tongue, never so furnished or embellished as of late."

"I speak generally to every springing wit, but more specially to a few: and at this instant singularly to one: whom I salute with a hundred blessings; and entreat with as many prayers, to love them, that love all good wittes; and hate none, but the Divell, and his incarnate Impes notoriously professed. I protest, *it was not thy person that I any-way disliked; but thy rash, and desperate proceeding against thy well-willers:* which in some had been unsufferable; in an youth was more excusable: in a reformed youth is pardonable: and rather matter of concordance than of aggrievance."—P. 148, Gabriel Harvey's Third Letter, 'Shakspeare Allusion-Books,' Part I. Nash, I consider, is the person alluded to.

I cannot doubt they preceded 'Love's Labour's Won,' 'Love's Labour's Lost,' and the 'Comedy of Errors.'

'Pericles,'* 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'Titus Andronicus,' 'Hamlet,' the first sketches of the Three Parts of 'Henry VI.,' 'Love's Labour's Won,' 'Love's Labour's Lost,' and the 'Comedy of Errors,' have all been re-written, enlarged, and amended; but I am not aware that a play, written by Peele, Greene, or Marlowe was ever re-written, enlarged, or amended; nor is there the slightest evidence that any two of these three playwrights ever joined together in writing a play; and yet we are assured traces of all three, as well as of Shakspeare, are to be found in the First Part of 'Henry VI.,' the Two Parts of the 'Contention' being variously attributed to Marlowe and Greene, or to Marlowe and Peele; whilst Mr. Knight's valuable Essay on the Three Parts of 'Henry VI.,' showing the *unity of action*, the *unity of characterisation*, and *identity of manner*, is apparently ignored, except inferentially by one voice, alas! now extinct. Thus writes the late Mr. Simpson: "The Drama of the fall of the house of Lancaster is completed by the play of 'Richard III.' The references in this play to the three parts of 'Henry VI.' are so many as to make it impossible to deny the serial character and unity of the whole tetralogy, whatever questions may be raised as to the authorship of parts of it."

Under the head of 'Metrical Evidences' in 'Who wrote Henry VI.?' Mr. Fleay observes: "In Peele there are many lines with an extra syllable in the middle of the verse, not like Shakspeare's, with a pause after it, as in—

"'Or I | mistake | *you*. || O would | her name were—'
'The cove | ring sky | is no | *thing*. || Bohe | mia noth | ing;'

in which, moreover, the extra syllable is in Shakspeare a light one: but without a pause, and often a heavy syllable. Here are a few instances from 'Edward I.:'

* We are bound in justice to Shakspeare's editors to believe they published no plays but what they believed to be Shakspeare's; and the omission of 'Pericles' may have been accidental. In confirmation of this opinion I can personally give a curious coincidence—in summing up the number of plays written by Shakspeare I omitted 'Pericles,' commencing with the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' *vide* 'Footsteps of Shakspeare,' p. 145, 1862.

“ ‘Owen | ap Rice | whille wē stay | for fur | ther force.’
 ‘Victo | rious Ed | wārd tō whom | the Scot | tish kings.’
 ‘Lovely | Queen El | Inōr un | tō hēr turn | thine eye.’
 ‘Baliol | behold | I give | thēē thē Scot | tish crown.’
 ‘Our so | lemn ser | vice ōf co | rona | tion past.’

These all occur in two pages, the first I open. Here are some from 2 ‘Hen. VI.’

“ ‘Duke Hum | frēy hās done | a mi | racle | to-day.’
 ‘You make | in ā day | my lord | whole towns | to fly.’
 ‘Under | the coun | tēnānce and | confe | dērācie.’
 ‘The sec | ond Will | iām ōf Hat | field | and | the third.’
 ‘And left | behind | him Rich | ārd hīs on | ly son.’
 ‘Till Hen | ry Bull | Ingbrōoke duke | of Lan | caster.’

All from one page.”

I should certainly read several of these lines differently:

“ ‘Victo | rious Edwārd | to whom | the Scot | tish kings.’
 ‘Baliol | behold | I give thēē | the Scot | tish crown.’
 ‘Our so | lemn service | of co | rona | tion past.’
 ‘Duke Humphrey | has done | a mi | racle | to-day.’
 ‘And left | behind hīm | Richard | his on | ly son.’

And as William of Hatfield was the second son, and not the second William, I should certainly read:

“ ‘The secōnd, | William | of Hat | field, and | the third.’ ”

And there is, as in Shakspeare, a slight pause, though very trivial, after “Victorious Edwārd, I give thēē, Duke Humphrēy, behind hīm, the secōnd.” But according to Mr. Fleay, the actor would speak thus:

“ ‘The second William of Hatfield, and the third—’ ”

and would stutter out,

“ ‘Baliol, behold, I give | thēē thē Scot | tish crown.’ ”

Our great critic in his metrical zeal evidently forgets—“Comedies are writ to be spoken.”

The Three Parts of ‘Henry VI.’* are, I feel assured, founded on an old play, called ‘Henry VI.,’ and which may be the play alluded to by Nash; and this opinion is confirmed by the fact that on the same page in ‘Pierce Penniless’ there is a passage

* Nor can the circumstance of the ‘Contention’ having been acted at other theatres than Shakspeare’s be taken as evidence, since according to Mr. Collier: “It is probable that prior to the year 1592 or 1593, the copyright of plays was little understood and less recognised; and the various companies were performing the same dramas at the same time, although perhaps they had been bought by one company for its sole use.”

having reference to the 'Famous Victories,' on which Shakspeare founded 'Henry V.' and the Two Parts of 'Henry IV.;' consequently this old play may have embraced the whole reign of Henry VI., and was so highly praised by Nash out of jealousy of Shakspeare in 1592; and as the play was marked *ne*, it may at that time have received some additions by Greene.

Nor is there a tittle of evidence that the First Part of 'Henry VI.' was ever called 'Henry VI.;' and, in fact, the very construction of the play proves it could never have been so named; for it ends not only before the marriage of the king, but the martyrdom of Joan of Arc in 1429 follows the death of Talbot in 1453; which latter event has been with the utmost felicity of dramatic art placed in the First Part; thus leaving the course open for the Two Parts of the 'Contention,' or history of the civil war, without reference to the war in France.

Nor is Shakspeare accountable for the latter scenes connected with the Pucelle, nor for the ridiculous scene in Orleans, which was, no doubt, in the old play and received with roars of laughter by the groundlings; but he made a full and accepted apology to France in his 'Henry V.,' as François Victor Hugo remarks: "Shakspeare *répète la phrase* rapportée par Monstrelet, mais en rejetant ce qu'elle contient de blessant pour toute la nation vaincue." That is, he omitted "pour les péchés des François." Further, let any Frenchman remark the noble character of the Pucelle in the interview with Burgundy, act iii. sc. 3. Her praise of young Talbot and her ridicule of Talbot's titles, act iv. sc. 7, and her remark to Charles and Burgundy: "Of all base passions fear is most accursed (act v. sc. 2). We may then infer the passages in the fourth scene are partly retained from the old play, on account of popular prejudices and the interest of the company.

From a review of these early plays and from the fact they were all rewritten and amended, we are forced to the conclusion, Shakspeare took to the stage not as a mere playwright, but with the thorough spirit of an artist, and, consequently, studied zealously the plays of Peele and Greene, their art and versification; and more especially were his energies roused on the appearance of 'Tamburlaine,' of Marlowe's "mighty line;" as Steevens observes, "Almost every young poet begins by imitation;" and thus we may readily and reasonably account for traces

of Peele, Greene, and Marlowe, in these his first historical plays; but he was no mean imitator or copyist, any more than Byron, who, after "a deep study of the writings of Pope," produced his 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.'

Throughout the seventeenth century and far into the eighteenth no one had the slightest suspicion of the genuineness of these plays, till Theobald, who by-the-bye has a niche in the 'Dunciad,'* cast a doubt on their authenticity, and was ably seconded by Malone, an Irishman, who, after helping to blacken Shakspeare's character, whitewashed his bust to make things straight; and now, after more than a century's discussion, not two critics agree with reference to the scenes and passages supposed to have been written by Marlowe, Peele, or Greene.

According to Mr. Furnivall every reader will, like Gervinus, see three hands in the First Part of 'Henry VI.,' "though all may not agree in the parts of the play they assign to those hands. Reading it independently though hastily," he assigns to Shakspeare act ii. sc. 4, and probably act iv. and act v., except the *third* scene in act iv.

Mr. Fleay attributes to Shakspeare, act ii. sc. 4, 5—act iv. sc. 4, and act v. sc. 1, 5; and to Greene the French plot, including the three Talbot scenes, act iv. sc. 5, 6, 7, but only the *second* scene in the *fifth* act; the *third* scene, however, in the *fifth* act, at least the passage between Suffolk and Lady Margaret, is certainly by Shakspeare:

Suff. "She's beautiful, and therefore to be woo'd;
She is a woman, therefore to be won."—Act v. sc. 3.

Dem. "She is a woman, therefore may be mov'd;
She is a woman, therefore may be won."
Titus Andronicus, act ii. sc. 1.

Again Mr. Fleay gives to Marlowe the *first* and *third* scenes in the *first* act; but Mr. Grant White gives the *first* and *second* scene to Greene, and sees "traces of Marlowe's furious pen" in act ii. sc. 2, 3, which Mr. Fleay gives to Greene, and Dyce to Shakspeare, whose opinion is supported by the following extract:

Aar. "I train'd thy brethren to that guileful hole."
Titus Andronicus, act v. sc. 1.

* "There hapless Shakspeare, yet of Tibbald sore,"
a nasty sore truly, a deep spreading ulcer; but Theobald himself actually gives a salve or plantain for the wound, if his followers had but the wit to apply it:—"unless they were wrote by him very early."

Count. "To me bloodthirsty lord ;
And for that cause I train'd thee to my house."
Henry VI., act ii. sc. 3. First Part.

Thus the whole of the 'Contention' is foreshadowed in the very scenes attributed to Shakspeare: act ii. sc. 4, 5, and act v. sc. 1, 3, 5.

But what is very remarkable, Mr. Grant White gives the three Talbot scenes to Peele, and Mr. Dyce to Shakspeare, as well as the interview between Talbot and the Countess, in act ii. sc. 3. Thus the Talbot scenes are given by one critic to Greene, by another to Peele, and by a third to Shakspeare; and the Auvergne scene by one to Greene, by another to Marlowe, and by a third to Shakspeare; whilst Mr. Fleay gives the Two Parts of the 'Contention' to Marlowe and Peele, Mr. Grant White to Shakspeare and Greene, and Mr. Dyce to Marlowe. Again Mr. Fleay attributes the "Iden and Cade scenes" to Peele, but Mr. Grant White with equal positiveness assigns them to Shakspeare. Surely there must be some serious flaw in the indictment, when three such eminent, I may say, legal authorities or judges thus differ in their decision;—when doctors disagree, the usual answer is, "trust to nature," that is, Shakspeare.

Further, Mr. White's argument, that numerous passages in the Two Parts of the 'Contention' were written by Greene on account of the expression "for to," as "for to obey," "for to revenge," falls to the ground, when he acknowledges, that "others without number of Shakspeare's and Marlowe's contemporaries did use this idiom;" surely the ignorant Shakspeare, coming up to London from the country, may have been equally guilty of such an idiom. In a scene in the Second Part of the 'Contention' corresponding to act ii. sc. 4, in the Third Part of 'Henry VI.,' there are only two speeches; the second is retained, but the other, which is rejected, is ascribed to Greene on account of the lines:

"Shall *lop* thy limbs and *slice* thy cursed heart,
For to revenge the murders thou hast made."

Mr. White points out "lop thy limbs" is found in the Induction to 'James the Fourth,' and "*slice* the tender fillets of my life" in 'Orlando Furioso;' but Mr. White and others have overlooked the fact, that *lop* occurs once in 'Pericles' and twice in 'Titus Andronicus,' and the 'Contention' was un-

doubtedly written before 'Orlando Furioso;' whilst in a scene of only two short speeches, it is highly improbable one was written by Greene and the other by Shakspeare. The passage in 'Perimedes the Blacksmith,' 1588, is strongly opposed to the supposition, Greene had a hand in these plays, especially in conjunction with Marlowe: "I keep my old course to palter up something in prose, using my old poesie still, *Omne tulit punctum*, although lately two gentlemen poets, made two madmen of Rome beat it out of their paper bucklers, and had it in derision, for that I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragical buskins, every word filling the mouth like the faburden of Bo-Bell, daring God out of heaven with that atheist Tamburlen, or blaspheming with the mad priest of the Sonna,"—'Perimedes,' 1588.

As Shakspeare is credited with the Temple Garden scene, and with the following scene, where Plantagenet has an interview with Mortimer, and also with the third and fifth scene of the fifth act, to him are attributed the very scenes from whence as from a fountain flow the two Parts of the 'Contention:'

"This quarrel will drink blood another day,"

being the last line in act ii. sc. 4; and as no two critics can agree in the allotment of the other scenes in the play, it is surely a reasonable inference, these plays are early sketches of Shakspeare's varied genius.

In support of Shakspeare's claim to the "Talbot scenes" may be adduced the following passage:

Rich. II. "And there the antick sits,
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp."

Rich. II., act iii. sc. 2.

Tal. "Thou antick death, which laugh'st us here to scorn."

Henry VI., act iv. sc. 7. First Part.

And further, this very speech in 'Richard II.,' act iii. sc. 2, as well as the speech in the dungeon of the castle, act v. sc. 5, corresponds in its pathos with Henry's speech:

"Oh, God! me thinks it were a happy life."

Henry VI., act ii. sc. 5. Third Part.

Which speech to my astonishment Mr. Fleay attributes to Marlowe.

K. Rich. "We are amaz'd; and thus long have we stood
To watch the fearful bending of thy knee."

Richard II., act iii. sc. 3.

K. Henry. "Why, Warwick, hath thy knee forgot to bow?"
Henry VI., act v. sc. 1. Second Part.

Again, in 'Richard II,' act v., the Queen waits to see the King going to the Tower, just as Gloster witnesses the disgrace of the Duchess.

Mr. Furnival quotes the following two lines:

"Ten thousand French have tane the Sacrament."
Henry VI., act iv. sc. 2. First Part.

"A dozen of them heere have tane the Sacrament."
Richard II., act v. sc. 2.

Sal. "It is great sin to swear unto a sin;
 But greater sin to keep a sinful oath."
Henry VI., act v. sc. 1. Second Part.

Princess. "'Tis deadly sin to keep that oath, my lord,
 And sin to break it."—*Love's Labour's Lost*, act ii.

Queen Marg. "And take my heart with thee."
Suff. "A jewel lock'd into the woeful'st cask."
Henry VI., act iii. sc. 2. Second Part.

"Or captain jewels in the carcanet."—*Sonnet* 52.

And when Queen Margaret puts the paper crown on York's head, and says:

"Stamp, rave, and fret, that I may sing and dance,"
 Act i. sc. 4, Third Part,

is she not the same playful creature, turned to evil, as when she played the *asides* with Suffolk, 'Henry VI.,' First Part, act v. sc. 3; and is it probable Shakspeare would have introduced her, contrary to historical fact, into 'Richard III.' with all the minute references to the fearful deeds in the 'Contention,' had he not been the author of those plays?

Again, compare the Pucelle at Rouen, act iii. sc. 2, with the Countess of Salisbury scoffing at David in 'Edward III.'

In conclusion I hold, that Shakspeare wrote the sketches of the Three Parts of 'Henry VI.' in 1587-8, enlarged and corrected them in 1590, and finally amended them in 1594; after which period the earlier copies, being less carefully guarded, fell into the hands of the Pembroke Company; whilst the Earl of Sussex's Company obtained an early copy of 'Titus Andronicus.'

We must not, however, forget two plays of singular interest, the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' and the 'Midsummer Night's Dream;' the former, it is supposed, was written in the course of a fortnight by command of the Queen; but her Majesty's commands were most probably limited to the writing of a comedy;

and it appears to have been written at Christmas, 1592; as the German Duke received his passport September 2nd, 1592.

This opinion with reference to the date of the comedy is confirmed by the numerous "allusions and resemblance of passages in 'Endymion' and 'Midas,' forming a mass of evidence, which forces on us the conclusion, that Pistol, like Sir Tophas, is a caricature of Marlowe; that Sir Hugh Evans is a Welsh portrait of Lyly; and that Shakspeare is acting the part of Sir John Falstaff, enjoying the fun, and very discreetly putting the buck's horns upon his own head to save himself from a worse fate, the good-humoured wrath of the monarch of Lesbos."—*Vide* 'The Footsteps of Shakspeare.'

In the "two gentlemen dwelling at Windsor, Mr. Ford and Mr. Page," are shadowed Greene and Peele; whilst Nash is satirised as Slender, with Simple for his servant, who replies to Mrs. Quickly's question: "Does he not wear a great round beard, like a glover's paring-knife?"

Sim. "No, forsooth; he has but a little wee face, with a little yellow beard; a Cain-coloured beard."—Act i. sc. 4.

Nash in 'Pierce Penniless' speaks of his "beardless years;" he should have said, chin or face, as he was then in his twenty-fifth year.

But the most interesting character is Dr. Caius; possibly there may have been a French physician in Windsor at that time; but such a coincidence would merely aid the poet to cloak his satire and shield it from a too direct personality. In the duel, however, with Sir Hugh Evans, Dr. Caius unmasks himself as "Doctor Gabriel Harvey;" this solution is confirmed by the following phrase in Harvey's Third Letter, 1592, "as Dr. Caius would say;" and which letter, there cannot be a doubt, Shakspeare must have read; whilst "let them keep their limbs whole and *hack our English*," act iii. sc. 1, would be a satirical allusion to Harvey's verses and Lyly's 'Euphues.'

Whether the 'Merry Wives of Windsor' was enlarged and amended before or after the First Part of 'Henry IV.' matters little; but the first sketch was certainly written about Christmas, 1592.

Shakspeare, in the joy of his heart at the honour conferred on him by the Queen, repays her Majesty with the beautiful

"Vision of Oberon" in the 'Midsummer-night's Dream,' certainly composed before the death of Marlowe; and perhaps a thousand years hence some Fijian professor of poetry may recognise Queen Elizabeth and Raleigh in Theseus and Hippolyta.

SHAKSPERE AND MARLOWE.

It seems to be generally agreed, 'Tamburlaine,' at least the First Part, was acted in 1586, and 'Faustus' in 1587 or early in 1588. In these two plays, 'Tamburlaine' and 'Faustus,' we have the man Marlowe, body and soul; but his originality there ceases and he succumbs to the superior genius of Shakspeare, just as Achilles in his wrath had sense enough remaining to recognise the superior power of Agamemnon. Let any person read 'Tamburlaine' and 'Faustus,' then let him read the 'Jew of Malta,' and he will readily perceive how diligently and earnestly the author must have studied the Shaksperian plays. But as it is universally believed the 'Jew of Malta' preceded 'Romeo and Juliet,' we must examine into the dates of the two plays.*

As Lady Capulet says of Juliet, "She's not fourteen," and the nurse replies: "'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years,"—"come Lammas-eve at night shall she be fourteen," we are forced to the conclusion 'Romeo and Juliet' was composed early in 1591; whilst the earliest notice of the 'Jew of Malta' is in Henslow's 'Diary,' February 26, 1591-2. Now as Abigail is "A fair young maid scarce fourteen years of age," act i., I cannot resist the impression, it is an allusion to Juliet; which feeling is confirmed by the line:

"But stay: what star shines yonder in the east?"

for whilst in 'Romeo and Juliet,' the passage:

"But soft! what light through yonder window breaks?
It is the east, and Juliet is the sun;"

is, in a young and passionate lover, as natural as poetical, the

* It is very remarkable, whilst 'Tamburlaine' and 'Faustus' are nearly free "from jiggling veins of rhyming mother-wits," in this tragedy, the 'Jew of Malta,' there are numerous couplets, besides one whole speech in rhyme. In 'Faustus' I have noticed only two couplets. I may add there are five couplets in the first scene of 'Tamburlaine,' and probably not three more in the Two Parts; hence I am inclined to infer, Marlowe had previously written a play in rhyme, but found it an incumbrance to his muse.

line in Marlowe is no less improbable than ridiculous in the mouth of a miserly old Jew on seeing his daughter in her night-gown.

Again,

“These arms of mine shall be thy sepulchre,”

may be a reminiscence of:

“Now my old arms are young John Talbot’s grave.”

Henry VI., act iv. sc. 7. First Part.

Whilst,

“These arms of mine shall be thy winding-sheet ;

My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre,”

Henry VI., act ii. sc. 5, Third Part,

if not written in the amended play before the ‘Jew of Malta,’ can only be regarded as a satire, keen and critical, on Marlowe’s petty theft.

Again, the lines :

“And in the shadow of the silent night

Doth shake contagion from her sable wings,”

Jew of Malta, act i. sc. 2,

remind us of :

“and from their misty jaws

Breathe foul contagious darkness in the air.”

Henry VI., act iv. sc. 1. Second Part.

Whilst,

“Who with their drowsy, slow, and flagging wings,

Clip dead men’s graves,”

is as like to Marlowe, as night to day ; but then I am neither poet nor critic. Show me a passage in ‘Tamburlaine’ or ‘Faustus’ so true to nature, so descriptive of the owl’s flight—drowsy, slow, and flagging—which the boy Shakspeare must often have witnessed in the churchyard at Stratford ; then let it be acknowledged Marlowe is the poet of nature, and Shakspeare a pitiful imitator.*

* This three adjective line, ‘gaudy, blabbing, and remorseful,’—‘drowsy, slow, and flagging,’ may be almost regarded as diagnostic of Shakspeare ; it occurs four times in the First Part of ‘Henry VI.’ eight times in the Second Part, and ten times in the Third Part ; and seven times in the ‘Contention ;’ whilst it occurs only five times in ‘Tamburlaine,’ once in ‘Faustus,’ once in ‘Edward II.’ once in the ‘Massacre at Paris,’ and not once in ‘Dido,’ nor in the ‘Jew of Malta ;’ and it is of rare occurrence in the plays of Greene and Peele, excepting in the ‘Arraignment of Paris.’ But in Shakspeare, besides the Three Parts of ‘Henry VI.’ and the ‘Contention,’ it occurs twenty times in ‘Richard III.’ and repeatedly in other plays, as ‘Titus Andronicus,’ ‘Love’s Labour’s Lost,’ ‘Comedy of Errors,’ and ‘Richard II.’

The following passage is evidently a reminiscence of 'Pericles':

Bar. "One turn'd my daughter, therefore he shall die;
The other knows enough to have my life,
Therefore, 'tis not requisite he should live."
"No more, but so: it must and shall be done."
"Yet if he knows our meaning, could he scape?"
Jew of Malta, act iv.

Ant. "He hath found the meaning, for the which we mean
To have his head."
"And therefore instantly this prince must die.
Say, is it done?"

Thal. My lord, 'tis done."—*Pericles, act i. sc. 1.*

Again, the dying speech of Barabas in its fiendish malignity is clearly an imitation of one of Aaron's:

Bar. "Know, governor, 'twas I that slew thy son,—
I fram'd the challenge that did make them meet:
Know, Calymath, I aim'd thy overthrow:
Jew of Malta, act v.

Aar. "Well, let my deeds be witness of my worth.
I train'd thy brethren to that guileful hole,
Where the dead corpse of Bassianus lay:
I wrote the letter that thy father found."
Titus Andronicus, act v. sc. 1.

Even setting up the dead friar against the wall is taken from 'Titus Andronicus':

Itha. "Nay, master, be ruled by me a little."
[Takes the body, sets it upright against the wall,
and puts a staff in its hand.]
Jew of Malta, act iv.

Aar. "Oft have I digg'd up dead men from their graves,
And set them upright at their dear friends' doors."
Titus Andronicus, act v. sc. 1.

It appears from the testimony of eminent authorities that Shakspeare actually wrote only one play, 'Romeo and Juliet,' between Christmas, 1589, and September, 1592. We cannot then doubt it was at this period, most probably in 1590, he first enlarged and amended the plays now called the 'Three Parts of Henry VI.,' and 'Romeo and Juliet,' composed in 1591, was immediately followed by 'Richard III.,' at least the first sketch, which may have been the play that so excited Greene's jealousy; whilst the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' was undoubtedly written between September, 1592, and June, 1593; where the "learning late deceased in beggary" refers to the death of the poet Greene.

It was at this period Marlowe wrote the 'Massacre at Paris,' which was first acted, January 30, 1592; and although the text

is "both mutilated and abounding in corruption, and even in its pristine state was the very worst of Marlowe's dramas" (Dyce), yet the characters of the Duke of Guise and Queen Catherine are vigorously drawn, being founded apparently on the characters of York and Queen Margaret in 'Henry VI.,' Part Second, act v. sc. 1.

Let us now examine 'Edward II.' It was entered in the Stationers' Books, July 6, 1593; and as there is no evidence of its having been acted, we may presume it was Marlowe's last play; consequently all the parallelisms adduced by Mr. Dyce must be reversed, and I shall merely observe the following lines:

"The shepherd, *nipt* with biting *winter's* rage,
Frolics not more to see the *painted spring*—"

reminded me of the lines at the end of 'Love's Labour's Lost':

Spring. "When daisies pied—
Do *paint* the meadows with delight."
Winter. "When blood is *nipp'd*."—*L.L.L.*

But it is remarkable Mr. Dyce should have overlooked the following resemblance:

Edw. "Bear this to the Queen,
Wet with my tears, and dried again with sighs:
[*Gives a handkerchief.*]
If with the sight thereof she be not mov'd,
Return it back, and dip it in my blood."—*Edward II.*

Did the hand that wrote these imbecile lines write the following fierce passage:

Q. Marg. "Look, York; I stain'd this napkin with the blood
That valiant Clifford, with his rapier's point,
Made issue from the bosom of the boy:
And, if thine eyes can water for his death,
I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal."
Henry VI., act i. sc. 4. Third Part.

It is evident Marlowe borrowed the handkerchief from Shakspeare; since he had without acknowledgment purloined from Spenser: "Like to an almond-tree y-mounted high;" and which theft was only discovered on the publication of the 'Faërie Queene' in 1590.

Being in Paris in May, 1875, I took the opportunity of examining François V. Hugo's introductory remarks on Shakspeare's plays, and I made the following extract: "Car, ainsi que le prouve l'inscription officielle au registre de Stationers' Hall,

ils [the editors] comptaient d'abord publier, comme *la troisième partie de 'Henry VI.,'* la pièce même, qu'ils ont définitivement donnée comme la première dans l'in-folio de 1623." This information was nothing new, but it suddenly occurred to me, struck me like an electric shock, that Shakspeare's play, the First Part, could not have been called 'Henry VI. ;' or it would never have been proposed to publish the Two Parts of the 'Contention' as the First and Second Parts of 'Henry VI. ;' the blunder would have been too gross ; but they had actually been so published, which must be taken as strong evidence the First Part was not called 'Henry VI.' What then was the First Part called ? After a few minutes' reflection I guessed— 'The Contention of Gloster and Winchester,' but immediately perceived that would make three 'Contentions,' then it must be the 'Protector,' or the 'Protectorate of Humphrey, Duke of Gloster.' This supposition receives an extraordinary confirmation from the frequent repetition of *Protector* in the following lines :

"And that I be Protector over him ;"
 "And to conclude I am Protector now."
 "Entreat my Lord Protector for his life."
 "My Lord Protector greets you."—*Edward II.*

Whilst if Y. Mortimer be a satire on Shakspeare, the passage :

"The Queen and Mortimer
 Shall rule the realm, the King—"

may be an allusion to :

Suff. "Margaret shall now be Queen, and rule the King ;
 But I will rule both her, the King, and realm."
Henry VI., act v. sc. 5. First Part, or The Protector.

SHAKSPEARE, SIDNEY, AND SPENSER.

WITH regard to the publication of Shakspeare's 'Sonnets,' it was and perhaps is still, a very general opinion that William Herbert is meant by the W. H. in the dedication, and such may have been the publisher's insinuation ; I am, however, convinced Thorpe's edition is a piratical publication ; and this conclusion is forced on me by the irregularity and want of connection between the various sonnets ; for had they been delivered to the

publisher either by Southampton, Herbert, or Shakspeare, they would necessarily have appeared in a perfect form.

We all know Shakspeare was as much a realist as idealist; and if, as poet, he ascends to the seventh heaven of invention and marries the Muses, on descending to the earth, with a heart full of human sympathies, he embodies these celestial beings, changing them into beautiful women; as Philip, in Decker's 'Northward Ho,' says to his father, the estimable poet, Bellamont: "You have often told me, the nine Muses are all women and you deal with them: may not I the better be allowed one than you so many?" If these poets then are so allegorical even in their plays, may we not be justified in regarding the dark lady of the 'Sonnets' as the *Sonnet-muse*, with black hair because she is an Italian, the sonnet having its origin in Italy; and in 'Juliet Unveiled,' 'Notes and Queries,' 1863, I have pointed out that many of these sonnets are founded, or at least the hint has been taken from 'Astrophel and Stella;' and I may here add, Shakspeare probably took the hint of urging the young Earl to marry from Languet's advice to Sir Philip Sidney.

In December, 1581, Sidney, being at Wilton, commences a letter to Sir F. Walsingham: "*The country affords no other stuff for letters but humble salutations, which humbly and heartily I send to yourself, my good lady, and my exceeding like to be good friend.*" The person designated as "my exceeding like to be good friend" must have been Miss Frances Walsingham, who became Lady Sidney in the spring of 1583.

This curious expression, "my exceeding like to be good friend," reminds us of a similar one in the 'Arcadia:' "Then friendship, a diligent officer, took care to see the statute thoroughly observed," in the minute account of the dawning of Philoclea's love for Zelmane, which seems a mere transcript from nature of Fanny's growing love, of her partiality and admiration for the author himself. It may then be easily guessed, Philoclea (glory, the reward of valour) is no other than Miss Walsingham; and Philip must have been constantly at her father's house during the autumn of 1579, as it was chiefly with the consent, if not at the instigation, of Sir Francis he wrote his letter to the Queen.

Fanny, at the time of commencing the 'Arcadia,' was only in her fourteenth year, and we may presume Philip was not exactly

in love; but there was something about her that reminded him of a former love, of his boyish affection for Anne Cecil, that "sweet jewel," as his father delighted to call her; and it appears he must have lived during two very susceptible years, from fourteen to sixteen, under the impression he was engaged to Anne Cecil. In the summer of 1580 Sidney thus describes the fatal effects of Philoclea's beauty: "*Then began,*" says Pyrocles to Musidorus, "*the fatal overthrow of all my liberty, when walking among the pictures in Kalander's [Sir F. Walsingham's] house, you yourself delivered unto me what you had understood of Philoclea, who much resembling [though, I must say, much surpassing] the Lady Zelmane, whom so well I loved; there were mine eyes infected, and at your mouth did I drink my poison.*"—'The Arcadia,' lib. i.

And again, Pyrocles, dressed as an Amazon and passing under the name of Zelmane, thus describes to Philoclea the death of Zelmane: "*And then kissing me, and often desiring me not to condemn her of lightness, in mine arms she delivered her pure soul to the purest place; leaving me as full of agony, as kindness, pity, and sorrow could make an honest heart. For I must confess for true, that if my stars had not wholly reserved me for you, there else perhaps I might have loved, and, which had been most strange, begun my love after death; whereof let it be the less marvel, because somewhat she did resemble you, though as far short of your perfection, as herself dying, was of herself flourishing; yet something there was, which, when I saw a picture of yours, brought again her figure into my remembrance, and made my heart as apt to receive the wound, as the power of your beauty with irresistible force to pierce.*"—'Arcadia,' lib. ii.

These two extracts, certainly written in 1580, should be well weighed with the fact of Sidney's intimacy with Walsingham in 1579, with his letter to him in Dec. 1581, and with his marriage in 1583; and it follows, Philoclea is a lover's portrait of Miss Walsingham; whilst Stella is a totally distinct character:

"Stella! fiercest shepherdess,
Fiercest, but yet fairest ever."—*Ninth Song.*

It is acknowledged Sir Philip's ruling passion was military fame; and "her fair neck a foul yoke bore," would be merely

a literal truth as applied to the Goddess of Chivalry; since it appears the Earl of Oxford, a man of most depraved character, had been declared the victor at several tournaments; and in the 41st sonnet Sidney speaks of having in the tournament at Whitsuntide, 1581,

“ obtain'd the prize,
Both by the judgment of the English eyes,
And of some sent from that sweet en'my France;”

but not having had the honour awarded to him by the Queen he may justly say :

“ Stella hath refused me !
Astrophel, that so well served
In this pleasant spring.”—Ninth Song.

I therefore hold Stella is simply the poet's muse of chivalry; whilst in the beautiful story of ‘Argalus and Parthenia’ in the ‘Arcadia’ we may perhaps discover the high-spirited Penelope in Parthenia.

The story of ‘Argalus and Parthenia’ is merely an episode, but in which the author seems to have taken a special interest. It occupies only a few pages early in the First Book; then we hear no more of the lovers, until in the Third Book we find them living a happy domestic life, which is suddenly interrupted, and Argalus is slain by Amphialus; on which Parthenia, inconsolable for his loss, arms herself as a knight, and challenging Amphialus, is slain by him. The devoted pair are thus reunited in death, and on their tombstone is inscribed *an ornamented epitaph*, a most peculiar and significant sign of the great interest Sidney must have taken in the persons alluded to.

Before reading the extracts it should be mentioned that Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and Earl of Devonshire, “had in early life privately interchanged vows of attachment with Penelope, eldest daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. But he had not yet raised himself above the adversity, which clouded his early years; and the parents of his lady-love forced their daughter to give her hand to Robert, Lord Rich. A guilty connexion between the lovers followed; and at last Lady Rich abandoned her husband, and fled to the arms of the earl, taking with her her five children, whom she declared to be his issue.”—‘Lives of Eminent Englishmen,’ by G. Cunningham.

"About two years since, it so fell out, that he (Clitophon) brought him (Argalus) to a great lady's house, sister to my master, who had with her her only daughter, the fair Parthenia; fair indeed [fame I think itself daring not to call any fairer, if it be not Helena, Queen of Corinth, and the two incomparable sisters of *Arcadia*] and that which made her fairness much the fairer, was, that it was but a fair Ambassador of a most fair mind; full of wit, and a wit which delighted more to judge itself, than to show itself:" etc., etc. "They loved, although for a while the fire thereof [hope's wings being cut off] were blown by the bellows of despair upon this occasion.

"There had been a good while before, and so continued, a suitor to this same Lady, a great nobleman, though of *Laconia*, yet near neighbour to Parthenia's mother, named *Demagoras*; a man *mighty in riches and power*, and proud thereof, stubbornly stout, loving nobody but himself, and, for his own delight's sake, *Parthenia*; and pursuing vehemently his desire, *his riches* had so gilded over all his other imperfections, that the old Lady [*though contrary to my Lord her brother's mind*] had given her consent; and using a mother's authority upon her fair daughter, had made her yield thereunto, not because she liked her choice, but because her obedient mind had not yet taken upon it to make choice, and the day of their assurance drew near, when my young Lord *Clitophon* brought this noble *Argalus*, perchance principally to see so rare a sight, as Parthenia by all well-judging eyes was judged.

"But *though few days were before the time of assurance appointed*, yet love that saw he had a great journey to make in short time, hasted so himself, that before her word could tie her to *Demagoras*, her heart had vowed to Argalus, with so grateful a receipt in mutual affection, that if she desired above all things to have *Argalus*, Argalus feared nothing but to miss *Parthenia*. And now *Parthenia* had learned both liking and misliking. loving and loathing, and out of passion began to take the authority of judgment; insomuch, that when the time came that Demagoras, full of proud joy, thought to receive the gift of herself; she, with words of resolute refusal, (though with tears, shewing she was sorry she must refuse), assured her mother, she would first be bedded in her grave, than wedded to

Demagoras. The change was no more strange than unpleasant to the mother, who being determinately [lest I should say of a great Lady, wilfully] bent to marry her to Demagoras, tried all ways, which a witty and hard-hearted mother could use, upon so humble a daughter, in whom the only resisting power was love. But the more she assaulted, the more she taught Parthenia to defend; and the more Parthenia defended, the more she made her mother obstinate in the assault: who at length finding that Argalus standing between them, was it that most eclipsed her affection from shining upon Demagoras, she sought all means how to remove him, so much the more as he manifested himself an unremovable suitor to her daughter: first by employing him in as many dangerous enterprises, as ever the evil step-mother Juno recommended to the famous Hercules. . . . But it was hard to judge, whether he in doing, or she in suffering, showed greater constancy of affection: for, as to Argalus the world sooner wanted occasions, than he valour to go through them: so to Parthenia, malice sooner ceased, than her unchanged patience. Lastly, by treasons Demagoras and she (the mother) would have made away Argalus; but he with providence and courage so past over all, that the mother took such a spiteful grief at it, that her heart broke withal, and she died."

Here the reader should take notice of the curious coincidence, that Parthenia has no father, "to a great Lady's House;" and from the phrase, "though contrary to my Lord her brother's mind," we may infer the Earl of Leicester was opposed to the match.

It should also be noted, the story commences in the First Book, passes over the Second, and reappears in the Third Book. May we not infer, the proposal and marriage of Lady Penelope with Lord Rich occurred at these periods? and further, if there be any truth in the early attachment of Penelope with Lord Mountjoy, Sidney's character must be freed from the reproach, that he was the dastardly lover of Penelope, and allowed her to be sacrificed at the shrine of Lord Rich. Nor can passionate lines from a poem, probably in a great measure allegorical, like 'Astrophel and Stella,' be adduced as historical evidence; whilst the following extract tends to show there could not have been

any early attachment, or even preference, on the part of Mr. Philip to Lady Penelope: "Truly, my lord, I must say to your lordship, as I have said to my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Philip, the breaking off from this match, if the default be on your parts, will turn to more dishonour, than can be repaired with any other marriage."—'Letter of Mr. Waterhouse to Sir H. Sidney, Nov. 14, 1576. Zouch.'

It is unnecessary to continue the story further, but whilst Parthenia has many traits resembling Penelope, Philoclea is a totally distinct character, closely allied to Frances Walsingham and Anne Cecil.

According to Fuller, Miss Walsingham was a lady of "extraordinary handsomeness;" and who, as the mother of the third Earl of Essex, must have had black hair, as well as black eyes, and probably "her cheeks with kindly claret spread;" whilst the golden locks of Philoclea, and of Stella, were merely the poetical fashion of the age in loyal adulation of Queen Elizabeth. If then Philoclea, and, in a certain sense, Stella also, is Miss Walsingham, we are relieved from the revolting supposition, which casts such a dark shadow on the character of Sir Philip Sidney. The following lines by Michael Drayton, whose mistress was an *Idea*, confirm the opinion of the fictitious nature of *Astrophel and Stella*; the linking of Sidney's name with Constable's and Daniel's can admit of no other interpretation:

"Many there be excelling in this kind,
Whose well trick'd rhymes with all invention swell;
Let each command as best shall like his mind;
Some *Sidney*, *Constable*, some *Daniel*."—*Sonnet 2*.

Furthermore, the lines in the 'Ruines of Time' and the dedication of 'Astrophel' to the Countess of Essex can only be explained or justified on this supposition; and the Stella in 'Colin Clout's come home again' must also be Lady Essex.

This poem concludes with a reference to the

"Faire Rosalind of divers fowly blamed,
For being to that swaine too cruell hard."

On reading the 'Shepherd's Calendar,' when a schoolboy, I confess I regarded Rosalind as the poet's pastoral muse, and now in my seventieth year, I cannot believe the gentle Spenser

was so mean-spirited and so weak as thus to persecute a young lady, page after page, and so rash as to insult his rival, who must have been equally mean-spirited and contemptible, if he did not resent such language :

“ And thou, Menalcas ! that by trecheree
Didst underforge my lasse to weaxe so light,
Shouldst well be knowne for such thy villanee.”—*June.*

Perhaps my language, like Spenser's, may be a little “too sporting” for a literary article; nevertheless, it is true. But, happily, Spenser is here alluding to some friend whom he compliments on having written a better pastoral poem than himself; and among the “*shepherds*” in the ‘*Arcadia*’ Musidorus represents himself to Dametas as the “younger brother of the shepherd Menalcas, by name Dorus, sent by his father in his tender age to Athens, there to learn some cunning more than ordinary.” I may here add, Drayton may have taken the Idea from the following lines :

Zelmane. “ Happy be you that may to the Saint, your only Idea,
[Although simply attir'd] your manly affections utter.
The Arcadia, lib. 1.

E. K., having of course received the information from Spenser, tells us: “Rosalinde is a faigned name; which, being well ordered, will bewray the verie name of his love and mistresse, whom by that name he coloureth.” Consequently, when we find the words Rosalinde and Rondelais are formed of the same letters, the corporal presence, the flesh and blood of Rosalind, vanishes into a *roundelay*, which, being a verse of difficult composition, becomes, in the figurative language of the poet, a proud and scornful beauty. In support of this opinion I may adduce the following lines :

“ For she is not like as the other crew
Of shepherds daughters which amongst you bee,
But of divine regard and heavenly hew,
Excelling all that ever ye did see.”
Colin Clout's come home again.

And again : “At the least if anything can be added to the loftiness of *his* conceite, *whom gentle Mistresse Rosalinde once reported to have all the Intelligences at commandement, and an other time christened him Segnior Pegaso.*” This alludes to the pleasant days of love that were gone and past. And it

is rather strange that Harvey should introduce a subject of which the remembrance could not be very pleasing to a deserted lover."—'Spenser,' p. xxi. Routledge & Sons, 1872.

Evidently Harvey did not regard 'Mistresse Rosalinde' as a piece of solid flesh. It seems to me a grievous error to suppose Spenser could have meant by the phrase "being well ordered" the mere division of the name which is already *well ordered*. Consequently, it becomes still more probable the dark lady in the 'Sonnets' (Shakspeare's), with her black and mournful eyes, is also an allegorical figure—the sonnet-muse. She is not only connected with Stella by the sonnets 127, 132, and others; but more especially by the sonnets where Shakspeare complains of her tyranny and evil influence over him, which undoubtedly, I would say, have their origin in the Fifth Song (*vide* 'Astrophel and Stella').

Nor is it probable that Shakspeare, who commenced the 'Sonnets' by recommending his young friend to marry, would have written the sonnets 40, 41, 42, wherein he exposes himself and friend no less to ridicule than contempt, unless they are written as a mere word-play, and not as a fact; whilst Meres simply alludes to the 'Sonnets' as "his sugred sonnets among his private friends."

Having thus cleared, I trust, the characters of Shakspeare and Sidney from the erroneous impressions of critics mistaking allegory for fact, I must now draw the attention of the reader to a lamentable misapprehension of one of Spenser's most beautiful tales.

In the letter accompanying 'Colin Clout's come home again' Spenser requests Raleigh to protect him "against the malice of evil mouthes, which are alwaies wide open to carpe and misconstrue my simple meaning." How singularly applicable to his editors and critics, if I may be pardoned the remark, is the phrase "misconstrue my simple meaning!" In this letter, dated "From my house of Kilcolman, the 27th of December, 1591," Spenser speaks of the infinite debt which he owes to Raleigh for "singular favours and sundrie good turns showed to me at my late being in England;" and when we look into the poem we cannot doubt, it must have been composed soon after his return to Ireland; but when he publishes it in 1595, he makes a few

additions which his editors have unfortunately regarded as evidence of its late production. We now come to a far more serious question, where the character of Spenser is gravely compromised :

“ ‘Is this the faith ?’ she said—and said no more,
But turned her face, and fled away for evermore.”
B. iv., c. vii. 36.

As the Fourth Book of the ‘*Faërie Queene*’ was not published till 1596, this passage is supposed to refer to Raleigh’s imprisonment in the Tower in 1592 on account of a criminal amour with Mistress Throgmorton.* Far from Spenser was such an ungenerous allusion ; for in the next canto “the gentle squire recovers grace”—“And him receiv’d again to former favours state” (c. viii. 17) ; whilst, in the stanzas immediately following, Prince Arthur, and not Timiss, is abused by Sclaunder ; which clearly proves the whole canto has reference to a period far anterior to 1592, and that the episode in all probability is founded on Raleigh’s

“lamentable lay
Of great unkindnesse, and of usage hard,
Of Cynthia, the Ladie of the Sea,
Which from her presence faultlesse him debar’d.”

Nor is the allegory at all applicable to Mistress Throgmorton ; for Amoretta, twin sister to Belphebe, represents the amorous disposition of Queen Elizabeth, as the other her chastity ; and Sidney says of Gynecia : “Of most unspotted chastity ; but of so working a mind, and so vehement spirits, as a man may say, it was happy she took a good course, for otherwise it would have been terrible.”—‘*Arcadia*,’ lib. i.

But Raleigh after his disgrace in 1592, although he still retained “the post of Captain of the Guard, yet for years could only execute its principal functions by deputy.” A clear case of jealousy ; Belphebe could not abide near her—“Benedick the married man.”

As Spenser tells us in the 80th sonnet, he had finished the

* The following extract is probably more correct : ‘In 1590 Essex excites the fierce wrath of Elizabeth by his secret marriage with Frances Walsingham. In 1592 Raleigh excites a wrath still fiercer by his secret marriage with Elizabeth Throgmorton.—No record of the place or the date of either marriage is now known to exist. Each was hidden from the Queen, until further secrecy had ceased to be possible.’—*Edwards’ Life of Raleigh*.

six books, that is, before his marriage; it becomes singularly improbable, if he had not finished the Fourth Book before the summer of 1592, especially as he therein merely gives "a solution of former distresses and plots."

For further solution of various plots in the 'Faërie Queene' I must refer the reader to the 'Faërie Queene Unveiled' in 'Notes and Queries,' July, 1863; but I may here observe that Artegal, or Arthur's equal, is Sir Henry Sidney; whilst in the 'Arcadia Unveiled' I have pointed out that Sir Philip Sidney is the Knight of the Red Crosse, or of Holinesse.—'Notes and Queries,' June 6, '63, p. 441.

SHAKSPERE, JONSON, AND MARSTON.

"Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read."
The Parasitaster.

WHEN Jonson in the 'Apologetical Dialogue' says:

"But sure I am, three years
They did provoke me with their petulant styles.
On every stage,"

it is a remark worthy of Iago himself; for he there insinuates, he made no reply to their attacks, until he wrote the 'Poetaster.' We may, however, take it for granted Marston attacked him first, and perhaps Decker, but certainly not Shakspeare; yet Jonson ridicules the latter in 'Every Man in his Humour' as Master Stephen, a country gull. His reason for so doing may be gathered from a phrase in this Dialogue, where he says, his adversaries attacked him probably from an "itch to have me their adversary." But how could he have made such an observation, if he had not had such a feeling in his own mind? and this, I believe, is the key to his attack upon Shakspeare, and not any personal ill-feeling, but jealousy of his literary eminence, his wealth, and social position. Herein Jonson had the wisdom of the serpent, for he evidently delighted in the *gaudia belli*, whether of the sword, pen, or bottle; and it was his interest to carry on the war; it roused his energies, sharpened his intellect, and made him the acknowledged rival of the great dramatist.

As I have in the tract, 'Shakspeare and Jonson,' given my reason for believing such a dramatic contest occurred between these two poets and others, I will now point out certain passages in Jonson's plays, which may have suggested certain scenes or characters in Shakspeare's plays, corresponding one to the other, and *vice versâ*; thus bringing additional evidence that such a contest actually occurred. After performing in 'Every Man in his Humour,' Shakspeare must have felt that he was satirised as Master Stephen; and Jonson, no doubt, readily perceived that Malvolio, even more than Sir Andrew Aguecheek, was the retort courteous in 'Twelfth Night.' As it is evident from the opening lines of this play:

"O, it came o'er my ear like the *sweet sound*,
That *breathes* upon a bank of *violets*,
Stealing and giving *odour*,"

that Sir Walter Raleigh is shadowed in the Duke;* consequently in 'Every Man out of his Humour' Raleigh is satirised as Puntarvolo; and the passage, "as of a duke to be in love with a countess," has been regarded as a sneer at 'Twelfth Night.' Whilst, on the other hand, the "gracing" of Puntarvolo may have suggested to Shakspeare the trick of Borachio wooing "Margaret the lady Hero's gentlewoman by the name of Hero" in 'Much Ado about Nothing.'

Punt.—"Stay; mine eye hath, on the instant, through the bounty of the window, received the form of a nymph.—Sweet lady, God save you!"

Gent. (above.) "No, forsooth, I am but the waiting gentlewoman."—
Act ii. 1.

There are also in 'Every Man out of his Humour' numerous allusions to 'Love's Labour's Lost,' and Carlo's remark, "Ay, and a constable for your wit," must be a reminiscence of Constable Dull, and may have suggested to Shakspeare the constables in 'Much Ado about Nothing,' where the playing on the word *Deformed*—"I know that Deformed, he has been a vile thief

- * "Sweet *violets*, Love's paradise, that spread
Your gracious *odours*, which you couched bear
Within your paly faces,
Upon the gentle wing of some calm *breathing* wind,' etc.

These lines are by Raleigh, and prove that *sound* is a misprint for *wind*.

this seven year," has reference to Don John; and we may consequently infer Jonson had been connected with the theatres since 1592-3; and this passage may have given him the idea of retaliating on Shakspeare by satirising his friend Lyly (Euphues) as Amorphus, the Deformed, in 'Cynthia's Revels,' where Shakspeare is satirised in the ridiculous character of Asotus.

To the sneering insults in 'Cynthia's Revels' Shakspeare replies by hanging up Jonson as the cynic Apemantus in 'Timon of Athens,' which, like the 'Revels,' is also founded on the 'Academic Timon;' thus we have a direct connection between these two plays. According to Gervinus, "Diogenes, in Lyly's 'Alexander and Campaspe,' sat to the poet for Timon's contrast, the cynic Apemantus; the quick-striking epigrammatic answers to questions, which seem to be inserted here and there, too much for eliciting with replies, are quite on this model." We thus see with what singular felicity and justice Shakspeare revenges both Lyly and himself by satirising Jonson as Apemantus. With reference to Alcibiades, Gervinus innocently observes: "He there pleads in vain for a friend, who has been condemned to death for killing a man in a duel, but the discussion concerns one entirely unknown; we learn nothing whatever of the man's person or home." We know there was but one murderer amongst these playwrights; and in Alcibiades, with his two mistresses, are shadowed Marston and the two parts of 'Antonio and Mellida;' whilst the faithful steward is Decker, and the Players are the senators.

This play, 'Timon of Athens,' in its composition was evidently as distasteful to Shakspeare as to the reader; but the castigation had a good effect on malignant Ben; for in the 'Poetaster,' whilst satirising Shakspeare as Ovid, and Lyly as Ovid senior, the personalities are less offensive than in the 'Revels;' and whilst Shakspeare is represented as the mock Jupiter of a false poetical hierarchy, a set of *counterfeits*, and is dismissed as unworthy of the classical court of Cæsar, Chapman, as Virgil, is enthroned in his stead; that Chapman is Virgil may be gathered from the words of Cæsar:

"Now he is come out of Campania,
I doubt not he hath finish'd all his Æneids."

The word *Campania* was probably intended as an anagram of

Chapman, Ciapman. To this classical onslaught, wherein Jonson certainly outwitted himself, Shakspeare replies most felicitously by castigating his implacable enemy as Thersites, in 'Troilus and Cressida.'

About a year previously Marston wrote the 'Malcontent,' wherein he apparently satirises Shakspeare as that "huge rascal" Mendoza, and Jonson as Pietro, the usurping Duke of Genoa, whose repentance is evidently an allusion to Duke Frederick in 'As you Like it,' whilst Altofront (Marston), disguised as Malevole, is the banished Duke of Genoa, and his friend Celso is, of course, Decker; there are also two other interesting characters, Ferneze—Fletcher, and Ferrardo—Beaumont, who now makes his first appearance, at least in these contests.

But it would be a grievous error to suppose there is anything personally offensive in these characters; for the ladies are allegorical figures; Aurelia, the wife of Pietro, being the classical muse, and Maria, the wife of Altofront, the romantic muse; whilst the two ladies, Emilia and Beancha, attendant on Aurelia, become in 'Othello,' respectively, one, the wife of Iago, and the other, the mistress of Cassio.

It may then be taken for granted 'Othello' is Shakspeare's reply to the 'Malcontent' rather than to 'Ovid.' In this play as in two or three others, and nowhere more distinctly than in 'Romeo and Juliet,' we have two sets of figures, or phantoms, behind the dramatic characters; for behind Othello we clearly see not only Shakspeare himself but Raleigh, at that time Governor of the Isle of Jersey; and behind Iago, not only "honest Ben," but a still greater villain, Secretary Cecil; of the other characters, Cassio is Marston; Roderigo—Fletcher; Lodovico—Beaumont; and Montano—Decker; whilst Brabantio is Francis Bacon; and Uncle Gratiano, Anthony Bacon. That Brabantio is Bacon may be suspected from his remarks, "I'll have it disputed on; 'tis probable and palpable to thinking;" whilst "abused her delicate youth with drugs and minerals" would be no less applicable to Raleigh; but in the last scene, when Othello says:

"I have seen the day,
That with this *little* arm, and this good sword,"

I presume the word *little* was inserted on account of Burbage, the actor.

Brabantio : "Do you know
Where we may apprehend her and the Moor?"—Act i. sc. 1.

The words *apprehend* and *attach* satisfy me that Shakspeare points at Francis Bacon in Brabantio; and this opinion is confirmed by an article I wrote on 'Romeo and Juliet' under the heading of 'Shakspeare, Sidney, and Essex,' in 'Notes and Queries,' February 14, 1863, pp. 124, 125:

Now the allegory in this play, 'Othello,' is very simple and evident: Desdemona is the romantic muse, Shakspeare's own muse, and to whom, as the daughter of Bacon, may well be applied the words of Hallam, "contemplative philosophy;" and Emilia is the classical muse, and Iago's suspicion of Othello's too close intimacy with her is Jonson's acknowledgment, and jealousy if you like, of Shakspeare's classical acquirements; whilst Beancha is of course the loose muse of Marston, who is promoted to be Governor of Cyprus, in reward for his wonderful satire of Shakspeare, as that "huge rascal," Mendoza; but which, allegorically, is a huge compliment to his poetical genius and classical acquirements; whilst in Iago, the man himself *minus* the villain, Jonson is recognised as the great classical poet.

Marston was an enthusiastic idolater of Shakspeare, and that powerful though sadly coarse tragedy, 'Sophonisba,' is the counterpart to Othello; where Massinissa represents Shakspeare; Syphax—Jonson, and Gelosso—Lyly. When I wrote the remarks on 'Sophonisba' in the tract, 'Shakspeare and Jonson,' I had not then looked into the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, or I should not have committed the hasty error of writing, "probably Scipio and Lælius represent Marston and Decker," whereas the lines :

"O, thou eternal youth,
Man of large fame, great and abounding glory,
Renounceful Scipio, spread thy two-necked eagles,"

can only apply to Beaumont and Fletcher; whilst Vangue would be Marston, and Jugurth, Massinissa's nephew, Decker.

That Shakspeare's feelings responded to Marston's generous homage is proved not only by the intimate connection of 'Sophonisba' with 'Macbeth,' but also with 'Julius Cæsar;' when Brutus says :

"No, not an oath," act ii., sc. 1.

Shakspeare must have had in his recollection

Mass. "No, do not swear,
I was not born so small to doubt or fear."
Sophonisba, act i. sc. 2.

As the most subtle poisons can only be detected by the most delicate tests, so it is only by a minute microscopical examination we can detect any personal allusions in the plays of Shakspeare and Marston, and except in a few instances the same may be said of Jonson; and as far as I can analyse his character, Jonson was naturally a generous-hearted man, but of a jealous and overbearing disposition; and that it was owing to Shakspeare's forbearance, there did not occur any personal quarrel between them. Let it be said, however, in justice to Jonson, if the dramatic composition had a stimulating effect on him, so had it a chastening and elevating effect on Shakspeare. Rosaline's advice in 'Love's Labour's Lost' sufficed for a time without the twelve months in an hospital; and now at Jonson's frown Falstaff dies of a fright and Pistol stole away.

(Signed) ROBT. QARTWRIGHT, M.D.

This Paper, 'Shakspeare, Jonson, and Marston,' was declined

by the committee of the *New Shakspeare Society* with the following note from the Director: "May 2nd. Dear Sir, I regret to say that this Paper is of far too sporting a character for us." Happily I had previously felt certain it would be declined on some such plea, as the "suppositions are far too illusory, and consequently not suitable for discussion by the Society."

The Paper was written somewhat hastily, as I had not quite satisfied myself about the political characters shadowed behind the dramatic. Raleigh, Cecil, and Bacon were self-evident to my mind, and I supposed the political allusion was to the last Parliament under Queen Elizabeth, where Raleigh on the constitutional side was opposed to Bacon and Cecil. But who was the Duke? It did not strike me at the time, the play had reference to the trial of Raleigh, but there is the key. The Duke is King James, and the speech is singularly appropriate; for had he not with chivalrous gallantry made a voyage to Norway to fetch his bride home?

Duke. "I think this tale would win my daughter too."

Again, Raleigh demanded that Cobham should be confronted with him:

Othello. "How came you, Cassio, by that handkerchief?"

Cassio. "I found it in my chamber."

Thus Iago's villany is proved, as Raleigh's innocence would have been proved, had Cobham's presence not been prevented by Cecil. Consequently 'Othello' must have been produced early in the spring of 1604.

At the next meeting of the Society, May 12, instead of Dr. Nicholson's Paper on Shakspeare's 'Sonnets,' which was postponed in consequence of indisposition, a short article was read, "On the approximate date of 'Othello' as deduced from Marston's 'Parasitaster' or 'Fawne.'"

After a short discussion the Director courteously asked me my opinion; and I replied, the 'Parasitaster' was a parody on the 'Tempest,' to which was objected, the 'Tempest' was composed in 1610, and the 'Parasitaster' was published in 1606. I replied, I was not guided by the metrical test, but possibly Shakspeare may have amended the play in that year; and I further observed, that the characters of Tiberio and Dulcimel were in direct antagonism to Ferdinand and Miranda; whilst

King James is ridiculed as the Duke 'Gonzago, "an arrant doting ass." It was instantly objected, Marston could not have ventured to write such a satire, having been only a year before imprisoned with Jonson and Chapman, with the pleasant prospect of losing their noses, for having satirised the Scotch in 'Eastward Hoe.' Now here, I think, my interlocutors missed the point, for it is far more probable they were really imprisoned on account of the following joke on his Majesty, than for a satire on the Scots :

1st Gent. "On the coast of Dogges, sir; y'are i'th Isle of Dogges, I tell you, I see, y'ave bin washt in the Thames here, and I believe ye were drowned in a tavern before, or else you would never have toke boat in such a dawning as this was. Farewel, farewel; we will not know you for shaming of you. *I ken the man weel; he's one of my thirty-pound knights.*"—Act iv. sc. 1.

Here is a direct allusion to the King, which might well call for punishment; but in the 'Parasitaster' there is no such personality; and it is not likely his Majesty recognised himself as Gonzago, neither is it probable his ministers would venture to notice it, thereby confessing they regarded their learned sovereign as "an arrant doting ass."

Jonson, as the retort courteous to Othello, concocted this humorous comedy, wherein Shakspeare is satirised as "the idle apprentice" and Ralegh as Sir Petronel Flash.

Shakspeare, perhaps somewhat indignant at the ridicule cast on Sir Walter in his misfortunes, replies to 'Eastward Hoe' in that magnificent play, the 'Tempest,' where Antonio represents Jonson; Alonso, Chapman; whilst Sebastian stands for Marston, drawn exactly according to Jonson's account of Carlo Buffone—"a public, scurrilous, and profane jester, that more swift than Circe, with absurd similes, will transform any person into deformity:"

Seb: "He receives comfort like cold porridge."
 "Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit;
 By and by it will strike."
 "As if it had lungs and rotten ones."

The Tempest, act ii. sc. 1.

I may here add, the two *Lords*, Adrian and Francisco, represent Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, who is distinctly recognised in the beautiful lines addressed to Alonso, "Sir, he may live," etc. But so high did he stand in Shakspeare's esteem, that he is also shadowed in Ferdinand, son of Alonso; whilst in 'Lear' the

rejection of Cordelia by the dower-seeking Burgundy (Fletcher), and the eager acceptance of her, as "a dowry in herself," by the King of France [Beau-mont], distinctly mark Shakspeare's estimation of the two poets.

'EDWARD III.'

"TRULY," says Ulrici, "if this piece, as the English critics assert, is not Shakspeare's own, it is a shame for them that they have done nothing to recover from forgetfulness the name of this second Shakspeare, this twin-brother of their great poet."—"We look in vain," says Mr. Knight, "for some known writer of the period, whose works exhibit a similar combination of excellences."

A change, however, has come over the English critics since Mr. Knight wrote the above lines; it is now acknowledged the Second Act was written by Shakspeare; nor can there be a doubt the First Act was also written by him; since the commencement of Artois' speech on the first page is perfect Shakspeare; whilst various phrases crop up here and there, reminding us of him, and at the end of the second scene we read:

Count. "Let not thy presence, like the April sun,
Flatter our earth;"

as in the Sonnet 33:

"Full many a glorious morning have I seen
Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye."

In the last three acts, however, the poet probably abstained from putting forth his full powers, being now on the very battleground where his future hero, Henry V., was to win his laurels; but he is undisturbed by the ghost of Talbot behind him with the Countess Auvergne, as that was a mere episode; whilst the Countess of Salisbury is an essential part, one might say the pivot on which the whole play turns; for 'Edward III.' is not so much a play as a Dramatic-sonnet, or Sonnet-play, and most probably composed after the 'Lucrece.'

The enigma is sufficiently transparent; after a comparative neglect of the drama, writing sonnets and two long poems, Shakspeare now, as a sonneteer, courts the Countess of Salisbury,

who, as the dramatic muse, indignantly rejects him, at the same time giving him a moral lecture on connubial fidelity; he, repentant, casts away that "lascivious grace," the sonnet-muse, and henceforth devotes himself to the drama, and 'Richard II.' is the immediate result.

As evidence of Shakspeare's hand in the three last acts, the following lines may be adduced:

"That, to other day was almost dead for love!"—Act iii. sc. 3.

A different writer would scarcely have made such a reference to the previous act.

"Ah, what an idiot hast thou made of life."—Act iv. sc. 4.

"It is a tale told by an idiot."—*Macbeth*, act v. sc. 5.

"That now the under-earth is as a grave."—Act iv. sc. 5.

"Whom this beneath world."—*Timon*, act i. sc. 1.

"This lower world."—*Tempest*, act iii. sc. 3.

"My arms shall be thy grave."—Act iv. sc. 7.

"Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave."

Henry IV., act iv. sc. 7.

"And kings approach the nearest unto God

By giving life and safety unto men."—Act v. sc. 1.

"And earthly power doth then show likest God's,

When mercy seasons justice."—*Merchant of Venice*, act iv. sc. 1.

It should be well noted that the lines,

"Ah, what an idiot hast thou made of life,"

"And kings approach the nearest unto God,"

are precursors of two of the finest passages in Shakspeare; and I join with German critics, "It is a shame they have not discovered the name of this twin-brother of their great poet," if Shakspeare did not write the fifth scene in the fourth act, where one feels the silence, stillness, and gloominess of a coming storm:

"A sudden darkness hath defac'd the sky."

"A tongue-ty'd fear hath made a midnight hour."

"That now the under-earth is as a grave,

Dark, deadly, silent, and uncomfortable."^{*}

[A clamour of ravens heard.]

It should be borne in mind, Shakspeare in this play has not put forth his full powers; being merely a trifle written for some temporary purpose,[†] whilst the description of the young prince

* "Discomfortable cousin!"—*Richard II.*, act iii. sc. 2.

† As "private theatricals" on the Earl of Southampton coming of age in October, 1594; Lady Rich taking the part of the Countess; Shakspeare as Edward the Third; and Southampton, Prince Edward, the hero of the play.

may, in a measure, justify the supposition Shakspeare is alluding to his own son, who must then have been in good health, but afterwards having been affected with a low fever was sent into the country; and in the distress of Constance in 'King John' may be represented the mother's anxieties for her son; and I should infer the play preceded the death of Hamnet.

In gratitude to Germany for having given us a genuine Shakspeare play, and one of such inestimable value in the elucidation of an interesting period of Shakspeare's life, I here present the Fatherland with a genuine German Hamlet, such as our Hamlet might have been, had he not suspected that his father had been poisoned: "My father! methinks I see my father;" the first premonitory symptom of the ghost; it shows also how impressionable was Hamlet's mind:

"Chose bizarre, il était né plutôt pour les arts de la paix, et ne semblait pas avoir le tempérament militaire. Le fonds de Frédéric, comme on l'a très-bien dit, c'était l'homme de lettres. Spectacle surprenant de voir ce *petit homme, replet et presque gras, si mou jusqu'à trente ans*, marcher devant ses troupes aux profondes boues de Westphalie, dans les neiges des monts de Bohême, dans ces batailles affreuses de décembre et janvier, ne connaissant hiver ni été, ni repos. En paix, tout aussi grand.—*Moqueur pour d'autres*, avec les pauvres gens, il était sérieux, les consolait."—Michelet, 'Louis XV.' vol. xvi. p. 398.

'HENRY VIII.'

In the Paper, 'On the Succession of Shakspeare's Earliest Plays,' I stated that Shakspeare took to the stage, not as a mere playwright, but with the thorough spirit of an artist. This love, this earnest study of his art, he has carried on through life, even into this, his last play, 'Henry VIII.:' where, with exquisite judgment and the true skill of an artist, he adopts in certain passages the flowing and looser lines of Beaumont and Fletcher, the play having reference to the present time, the events occurring almost within the memory of persons still living.

In the first act, the scenes 1 and 2 are evidently by Shakspeare;

and at the end of the second scene the mind of the reader is oppressed by the gravity of the surveyor's charge and the wrath of the king. This oppression is most judiciously relieved, not by a comic scene, full of wit and laughter, a discord most incongruous, but by a spectacle, a drawing-room filled with ladies and courtiers in their rich and splendid dresses; and if the conversation be a little less than brilliant, perhaps it may be truer to nature.

In the second act, the first scene is also by Shakspeare; the following passage is a concise analysis of Raleigh's trial:

1st Gent. "I'll tell you in a little. The great duke
Came to the bar : where, to his accusations,
He pleaded still, not guilty, and alleg'd
Many sharp reasons to defeat the law.
The king's attorney on the contrary,
Urg'd on the examinations, proofs, confessions
Of divers witnesses ; which the duke desired
To him brought, *vivâ voce*, to his face."

We are here reminded of: "Let Cobham be here; let him speak it. Call my accuser *before my face*, and I have done;" whilst "Neither the king nor his heirs" (act i. sc. 2) corresponds to "the king and his cubs." In the character of Buckingham, however, Shakspeare seems to have had an eye more especially to Essex: "All good people, pray for me" agrees with the words of Essex to the guards the night before his death: "My good friends, pray for me."

The interview between Henry and Wolsey (in act iii. sc. 2) in the ante-chamber is accepted as Shakspeare's; but the remainder of the scene is attributed to Fletcher, although Wolsey remains in the same chamber.

It seems to me incredible, degrading to the character of Shakspeare personally, that he could at that stage have handed the pen over either to Beaumont or Fletcher to portray the character of Wolsey, his reflections on the scene with the king, then the interview with the lords, their taunts and insults, and his indignant remark, "How much, methinks, I could despise this man;" followed by the affecting interview with Cromwell; whilst the delineation of the character of Katharine and her death is perhaps unsurpassed by any scene throughout his works; nor can I doubt that Wolsey's "Farewell, a long fare-

well, to all my greatness!" was written by Shakspeare; since the emendation I proposed in the 'New Readings in Shakspeare.'

"That sweet aspect of princes and their *ruin*,"

is confirmed by a line in the 'Sonnets:'

"For at a *frown* they in their glory die."

Sonnet 25.

The immediate origin of the play may have been a sudden impulse on the part of the poet to acknowledge his gratitude and loyalty to those who had so honoured him, "Eliza and our James;" and whilst in the sympathy, excited by the sufferings of Queen Katharine and the repentance of Wolsey, he pleads the cause of humanity against religious persecution, in the birth of Elizabeth would be joyfully hailed the success of the Protestant cause, the point towards which the whole play tends.

In the last scene after delivery of the speech* praising Queen Elizabeth together with the so-called fulsome laudation of James, we have the happy interruption of King Henry: "Thou speakest wonders;" then Cranmer, holding forward the infant in his arms, turns to the audience:

"*She* shall be," etc.

Thus the petty criticisms on this passage fall to the ground, and never was there a truer word:

"Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read."

* This speech, out of compliment to Beaumont, for whom Shakspeare had the highest esteem, shadowing him in the *Tempest* as Miranda's Ferdinand, carrying logs, an emblem of his arduous studies, is founded on a speech by Arbaces:

Arb.

"You may sit

Under your vines."

"In your hearts

Sing songs of gladness and deliverance."

"The terror of his name has stretch'd itself

Wherever there is sun."

"And live to see your children's children

Sit at your boards with plenty."

A King and No King, act ii. sc. 2.

'THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN.'

It has long been held by critical authorities that this play was composed by Shakspeare and Fletcher, which opinion was ably supported by the late Mr. Spedding, but afterwards partially retracted, his opinion being "not so decided as it once was;" which doubt, however, has not been fully accepted by later critics.

In 'Shakspeare and Jonson,' a small tract published in 1864, and courteously received by the press, I pointed out that the passages attributed to Shakspeare were written by Beaumont.

On analysing the plot of the 'Two Noble Kinsmen' we find the first act is a mere excrescence, having no more connection with the main body than a lodge at the park-gates with the hall or castle. It is in fact a classical poem, a gem, a little play of itself, like the 'Four Plays in One.'

The solemn, slow, and stately entry of the three queens, their supplications, the battle, and the dirge! and there's an end of them; no foreshadowing, not a hint of coming events; how unlike to the opening scenes of *Othello*, *Macbeth*, etc.! and especially should this first scene be compared with '*Coriolanus*' (act. v. sc. 3), on which it seems to be constructed; and how overstrained is the language of the first and second queen, "We are three queens," and "Honour'd Hippolyta," compared with the natural and unaffected language of *Volumnia* and *Virgilia*, or of *Hermione* in the '*Winter's Tale*.' The same may be said of *Emilia* in the third scene; her speech on friendship compared with *Helena's* in the '*Midsummer Night's Dream*' is deficient in softness and simplicity; true, it is written in Shakspeare's later style, yet how unlike to the feminine sweetness of *Perdita*. Again, where does Shakspeare introduce two young princes discussing through a whole scene a knotty question of moral philosophy? Surely this scene is a mere impediment; the conversation in the prison would have sufficed, and *Emilia* in the garden should have been her first appearance.

Whilst the first act is thus confined to its own narrow limits, throwing not a ray of light into the future, the first scene of the second act is in its construction essentially the opening scene of the drama: the gaoler's daughter and her wooer, the

two princes, and Emilia; the whole story lies open before us, and the course of events is a natural sequence.

In the first act, it may be granted, each sentence taken by itself might have been written by Shakspeare; and therein the author shows the power of his genius and his wonderful mastery of language; but his inferiority, as a dramatist, becomes evident on looking through Shakspeare's later plays; for of all the female characters not one uses such florid and figurative language as these queens, Lady Macbeth scarcely excepted, and one feels she is speaking, whilst these are speechifying.

Similar objections may be applied to the first scene of the last act; and it is hardly credible Shakspeare would have had a hand in the third scene, one so contrary, so directly opposed to his art; and wherein the writer has twisted the loving and artless Emilie of Chaucer into a psychological difficulty, a mental analysis, a temptation to cope withal that Beaumont delights in. But he had a meaning, and his meaning is his excuse, Emilia being the classical muse, exhausting her sweets on her two lovers, Shakspeare and Jonson.

As Jonson wrote the 'Fox' in his thirty-second year, I see no reason why Beaumont, a more precocious genius, an ardent and devoted student of Shakspeare, and the author of the finest passages in 'Philaster' and the 'Maid's Tragedy,' Shaksperian imitations, emulative trials, I see no reason why such a poet may not have written in his thirtieth year the first act of the 'Two Noble Kinsmen;' it only enhances our regret for the loss of a genius so moral and philosophical.

On turning to Chaucer we find the black-haired knight is chief on Palamon's side, but in the play he is on Arcite's; and *vice versa* the yellow-haired knight is on Palamon's side. These differences are of singular value; for they point to particular individuals; the first would be Sir Walter Ralegh; the second is Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, who is described as "a yellow-haired laddie of tall stature," and was in his twenty-fifth year in 1614; and it is a curious coincidence, the yellow-haired knight in Chaucer is also in his twenty-fifth year. The play, I believe, was written in 1614; Arcite is Shakspeare, and Palamon, Jonson; their characters are very distinctly drawn—the noble

and conciliatory spirit of the one as opposed to the tetchiness and irritable jealousy of the other.

Emilia is the goddess of poetry; Palamon wins her by the death of Arcite;—that is, Shakspeare having retired from the service of the Muses, Jonson remains first poet of the age; and thus this beautiful Anglo-Greek drama, perhaps the last production of Beaumont's genius, remains a monument to his own glory and a mausoleum for the manes of Shakspeare and Jonson.

'AS YOU LIKE IT.'

ACCORDING to Hallam, "There seems to have been a period of Shakspeare's life, when his heart was ill at ease, and ill content with the world or his own conscience. The memory of hours misspent—" "This type [one primary character, the censurer of mankind] *is first seen in the philosophic melancholy of Jaques.*—It assumes a graver cast in the exiled Duke of the same play."

Evidently we must not put our trust in princes, at least not in the chiefs of literature, for Shakspeare probably was never in a happier, though moralising mood, than when he wrote this play; and thinking far more of the dales and woods of Warwickshire than of Arden. As the play, or pastoral, was composed in 1600, we readily recognise Essex in the exiled Duke, as well as in the melancholy Jaques; and Cecil would be Duke Frederick. And who does not see Chapman shadowed in Sir Rowland de Bois, and in his three sons, Jonson, Marston, and Shakspeare. It is also highly probable, Marston, whose language was so turgid and thrasonical, is pointed at in Charles, the wrestler, and receives a fatal fling for his parody on 'Hamlet' in the Second Part of 'Antonio and Mellida.'

As Jonson is so fond of boasting about his learning and his studious nights, Shakspeare, more modest, humorously thrusts on him, as Oliver, the delightful task of describing the literary acquirements and social position of his younger brother, Orlando, in 1600:

Ol. "Farewell, good Charles—now will I stir this gamester? I hope I shall see an end of him; for my soul, yet I know not why, hates nothing more than he. Yet he's gentle; never school'd, and yet learned; full of noble device; of all sorts enchantingly beloved; and, indeed, so much in the heart of the world, and especially of my own people, who best know him, that I am all misprised; but it shall not be so long; this wrestler shall clear all; nothing remains, but that I kindle the boy thither, which now I'll go about."—Act i. sc. 1.

Of Shakspeare's early life nothing is known beyond his baptism and marriage; but what is remarkable, no writer has hinted at the probability Anne Hathaway, the daughter of a substantial yeoman or farmer, may have had a small dowry; nor is it probable their friends would have consented to the betrothal, unless there had been some visible means of maintenance.

In the 'Footsteps of Shakspeare' I have shown the probability Shakspeare had been apprenticed to an apothecary; in which case his apprenticeship of five years expiring in 1583, he may have gone to London in September to attend the hospitals and study medicine. He may also at the same time, being acquainted with one or two actors, have turned his attention to the stage and written his first sketch of 'Pericles,' and on returning at Christmas to Stratford been welcomed as the successful author of a play, wherein were fondly shadowed his wife and child; and we may presume they returned with him to London. The following Christmas his wife, being near her confinement, would naturally remain in Stratford till after that interesting event.

From this period, February 1585, we have not a trace of Shakspeare's personal history, but from an analysis of 'Hamlet' we are fully justified in the opinion he spent his leisure hours in the study of classical literature, especially of the Greek dramatists. In 1592, however, Greene in his jealousy makes a remark against him, which, happily, has not the offensive signification formerly supposed. A few months afterwards, in obedience to the Queen's command, he writes the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' where in Anne Page he points at Anne Hathaway, and the circumstances of his own happy marriage; this passage is still more fully developed in the enlarged and amended play. In 'Edward III.' there is also an interesting passage, wherein, I believe, Shakspeare is alluding to his own wife and son; this

opinion is confirmed by the lines in the 'Winter's Tale,'* where Mamillius has "a welkin eye," whilst Edward III. says, "His mother's visage, those his eyes are hers." It has also been suggested by François V. Hugo, that Shakspeare in 'Hamlet,' act i. sc. 2, is referring to the death of his own father; and it is also probable 'Pericles' was rewritten in 1608, as a tribute to the memory of his mother, who died in that year.

We must now return to 'As you Like it,' where in Orlando and Rosalind it requires no excess of imagination to recognise Shakspeare courting his own "sweet Anne;" nor can I imagine or wish for stronger evidence of his uxorial and domestic happiness; whilst in old Adam we have probably a kindly picture of his old father, who died in the following year.

For my part I can conscientiously say, I believe Shakspeare led a moral and upright life, and has well described himself in the character of Brutus:

"His life was gentle; and the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, *This was a man!*"

Throughout these 'Papers,' as in 'Shakspeare and Jonson,' I read Shakspeare with my heart, and if with brains, why then they were moistened with blood direct from the heart, like arid soil with the rain and dews from heaven. But our æsthetical friends arrive, unfortunately, at a very different result; thus writes Gervinus: "Had he not once crossed the threshold of crime, how could he so accurately and profoundly have penetrated into its most innermost recesses?" The accusation recoils on himself. How can Gervinus recognise the truthfulness of the account, if he also had not crossed the threshold of crime? The higher poetical genius of Shakspeare painted what the other could only feel. Genius realises what our colder temperament only sees darkly, in a faint and glimmering light.

"Before Shakspeare zealots," writes an eminent critic, "demand our attention to ingenious theories to establish the immaculateness of Shakspeare's life, let them show that his writings never offend. When they have shown that Shakspeare's poetry possesses the proud virginity of Milton's poetry, they may then go

* As *Pandosto* was published in 1587, "twenty-three years" gives the date of the *Winter's Tale*, 1610.

on to show that Shakspeare's youth was devoted to an ideal of moral purity and elevation like the youth of Milton."

These remarks appear to me, I regret to say, no less ungenerous than erroneous; and such a comparison is totally uncalled for. The one is a dramatist, giving us characters as he found them in nature; and the result is on the side of virtue; whilst in 'Paradise Lost' there are characters guilty of language not to be found in Shakspeare.

There is a passage in the great French historian, Michelet, singularly applicable on the present occasion: "Je ne me rappelle pas avoir vu le nom de Dieu dans Shakspeare; s'il y est, c'est bien rarement, par hasard et sans l'ombre d'un sentiment religieux. Le véritable héros de Milton, c'est Satan. Quant à Byron, il n'a pas trop repoussé le nom de chef de l'école satanique que lui donnaient ses ennemis."—"Pour l'Angleterre, sa pensée est constatée par son invariable prédilection pour les trois poètes. Sa poésie a trois actes, *le doute, le mal, et le désespoir*. Shakspeare ouvre la terrible trilogie. . . . Shakspeare réfléchit l'univers, moins Dieu."—"La liberté sans Dieu, l'héroïsme impie, en littérature *l'école satanique*, annoncée dès la Grèce dans le Prométhée d'Eschyle, renouvelée par le doute amer d'Hamlet, s'idéalise elle-même dans le Satan de Milton. Elle s'écrie avec lui: *Mal, sois mon bien!* Mais elle retombe avec Byron dans le désespoir: 'Bottomless perdition.'"

"Evil, be thou my good!"—*Paradise Lost*, B. iv., v. 110.

"Down to bottomless perdition."—B. i., v. 47.

THE END.

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1880.

NOTE.

The subject of our early nominal orthography, discussed in the following pages, has elicited so wide an interest, apart from the individual question, that I have been induced to reprint the pamphlet with a few additions and corrections.

The special case which has occasioned this investigation may thus be briefly epitomized. There having been no standard for the spelling of names in the time of Shakespeare, it follows, of course, that one form of signature was then as correct, or as incorrect, as another, that it was no authority for a printed orthography, and that the election of an uniform mode can be left to modern usage. In selecting, in the case of Shakespeare, the longest form, we are guided by the probability, almost the certainty, founded on the dedications to the first poems, that the great dramatist himself, had he lived to have superintended the publication of an edition of his works, would have adopted in that edition the orthography of his name which was sanctioned by his intimate friends and colleagues when they edited the folio of 1623, the complete form, Shakespeare, accepted with a singular unanimity by Ben Jonson and other contemporaries.

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS.

Hollingbury Copse,
Brighton,
3rd April, 1880.



A FEW WORDS, &c.

A FEW weeks ago, under the impression that it would be as well, if it were possible, that there should be uniformity in the printed orthography of the name of our national dramatist, I ventured to issue a little tentative pamphlet on the subject. The question was obviously an excessively trivial one in itself, and the idea of its discussion, had it referred to any but the greatest of England's sons, would have been positively ludicrous. No one would have imagined that such an enquiry could have raised the smallest of storms in the minutest of teapots. Nevertheless, the few pages alluded to created in their way quite a little hubbub. Besides an excellent leading article in one of the prominent London dailies, there were a score of other notices showing the interest a resuscitation of an old difficulty had excited. One writer, indeed, in a letter in the Daily News of December the 20th, was positively stimulated to compare the reluctance to adopt the shorter form of the poet's name with the fearful obstruction of "Toryism" to every-

thing that is correct and proper. From the expressions used by the individual in question it may be inferred that, in his opinion, the Tories, having done their best to prevent the introduction of Free Trade and the Reform Bill, are now completing their iniquities by spelling the name of the great dramatist in the way in which he himself printed it in the first editions of his own poems; that the vagabonds who write *Shakespeare* are bucolic and pig-headed Conservatives, and that the angels who prefer *Shakspere* are advanced and enlightened Radicals. As if to crown this edifice of bluster, in another journal I was personally battered merely because I had had the audacity to advocate the retention of the *e* and the *a*. When Bedreddin Hassan was told that his life was to be forfeited for omitting to add pepper to the cream-tart, he could hardly have been more astonished than myself at this funny display of gratuitous irritability.

In contrast to those who take such a vital interest in the suppression of the *e* and the *a* that they allow their little feelings to run away with them in the face of opposition, there are others who ridicule the idea of the matter being worth discussion at all. The latter view is well put in the Echo of December the 4th in allusion

to my pamphlet,—“ he adopts Shakespeare, with which nobody can quarrel ;—indeed, nobody would quarrel with him if he spelt the name backwards ;—it is of more importance to read Shakespeare’s works, and, above all, to understand and profit by them, than to give reasons for putting in or leaving out an *x* in his name.” Certainly, for ourselves and to ourselves the immortal text is all-sufficient, and the elucidation of that text is the only really good use of Shakespearean criticism, but surely there is a respect due to the memory of the greatest name in our literature. It is not courteous to that memory to speak as if it were of no sort of consequence whether we alluded to the great poet as William Shakespeare or as Tony Lumpkin. With due deference, therefore, to the opinion of our reverberating contemporary, I shall endeavour to follow the lead of my adverse critics in treating the subject as one of the most serious and weighty enquiries of the present day, as, in short, the great problem of all, the momentous question whether we are to discard or retain the *e* and the *a* in the spelling of the name of our national dramatist. My chief fear is that the enquiry into this important mystery may not be approached with the complete solemnity due to an investigation of such

paramount gravity ; but it shall at all events be treated fairly and dispassionately.

Previously to opening a discussion of this kind it may be well to observe that, in treating a subject which involves a consideration of the usages of a remote age, it is essentially necessary to eliminate from our minds any influence exercised by the knowledge of those of our own. This is especially necessary in the present instance. In these days a person's signature is, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand, absolute evidence of the acknowledged orthography of his own name and of that of his family. In Shakespeare's time, a person's signature, in a corresponding number of cases, was no evidence at all of the correct orthography of his own name or of that of his relatives.

The truth of this latter position can be demonstrated by hundreds of illustrations. Colonel Chester, one of the best living authorities in such matters, after mentioning the numerous instances he had met with of capricious forms of early signatures of the same name in the University books at Oxford, writes, —“ my experience among other records has been the same, and I should as soon doubt the existence of Hollingbury Copse as the position

you assume, that there was no settled orthography of surnames in the time of Shakespeare." But although the fact is acknowledged by all who have carefully examined the subject, a few examples should be given for the sake of the many who have had no opportunity of doing so. Thus, Lord Robert Dudley's signature was Dudley or Duddleley, and his wife's, Duddley. Allen, the actor, signed his name at various times, Alleyn, Aleyn, Allin, and Allen, while his wife's signature appears as Alleyne. Henslowe's autographs are in the forms of Hensley, Henslow, and Henslowe. Samuel Rowley signed himself Rouley, Rowley, and Rowleye. Burbage sometimes wrote Burbadg while his brother signed himself Burbadge. One of the poet's sons-in-law wrote himself Quayney, Quayneye, and Conoy, while his brother, the curate, signed, Quiney. His other son-in-law, Dr. Hall, signed himself Hawle and Hall. Alderman Sturley, of Stratford-on-Avon, signed his name sometimes in that form and sometimes, Strelly, both forms being used in letters written to the same person in the same year, 1598. Sir Walter Raleigh signed both Rauley and Raleigh, and Sir Philip Sidney both Sydney and Sidney. An actor contemporary with Shakespeare wrote himself Downton, Dowten, and

Dowton. The signature of a sixteenth century earl was Shrewsbury, that of his wife Shrowesbury. Different members of the Trevelyan family sign themselves, Trevelyan, Trevilian, Trevillian, Trevelyman, Trevelian, Trevylian. Richard Hathaway sometimes so wrote his name and sometimes Hathway. Thomas Nash, who married the poet's grand-daughter, signed himself both Nash and Nashe. Simon Trap, curate of Stratford-upon-Avon, wrote his name Trapp and Trappe. In a manuscript pedigree of 1613 at the Heralds' College a gentleman signs his name Payne, his nephew's signature on the same day in the same manuscript being Pain. Shakespeare's parents could not write at all, and the only signatures of any of their children known to exist are those of the poet, and that of his brother Gilbert, the latter signing his name Shakespere, that is, with the important central *e*. These instances will suffice for the demonstration of the main position, that in former days there was no established nominal orthography. As Sam Weller observed, "it all depended upon the taste and fancy of the speller, my Lord," and it would be difficult to state the usage of Shakespeare's time in more forcible language. It is curious that there are still to be found lingering

traces of the old uncertainty. My old friend, Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A., of the Roos, Co. Essex, tells me of a small tradesman in the country whose signature was capriciously either Travers or Travis. Upon his father, an old man, being asked which was the correct form, he replied that "one way was as good as the other." Professor Baynes furnishes me with a still more curious example in that of a Somersetshire gardener who writes his name Nipcote, his brother, Nitcote, while other members of the family use such variations as Nepcot and Netcot.

It is obvious then, even to the typical school-boy, that it would be unreasonable to attempt to follow individual signatures in the modern orthography of names of the Shakespearean period. If we were to do so, we should write Lord Dudley and Lady Duddley, Lord Shrewsbury and Lady Shrowesbury, Thomas Quayney and the Rev. George Quiney, Mr. Allen and Mrs. Alleyne, Mr. Payne and his nephew Mr. Pain, Alderman Sturley in one month and Alderman Strelly in the next, Dr. Hall at one period of his life and Dr. Hawle at another. When mentioning the great dramatist we should be at liberty to write his name in two or three ways, but not in the form used by his brother Gilbert Shakespere, and in alluding to another

great poet we should write Milton, but his second daughter must be introduced as a Millton. Heywood the epigrammatist would become Heywod, Cardinal Wolsey must be Cardinal Wulcy, Lords Leicester and Warwick would appear as Leycester and Warwyke, Herrick would be Hearick, Nichols would be transformed into Nycowlles, and so on to any number of similar inconvenient variations.

It is simply casual ingenuity which suggests the deflection of caprice into ignorance under the accusation that Shakespeare, and those numerous contemporaries who varied their signatures, did not know how to spell their own names. Well, they didn't, for the simple reason that names in those days had not been subjected to any rules of orthography, that the attainment of what we should call orthographical accuracy was at that time impossible, and it is obviously improper to sneer at them for indulging in a fanciful practice then as common with the learned as with the illiterate. One of the most accomplished scholars of the sixteenth century signed himself either Ascham or Askham, and it might of course be said that he did not know how to write his own name, but it would be fairer to observe that there was in those days no established orthography, no

method of spelling sanctioned by usage or authority either in surnames or Christian names, or in the English language generally. We have already seen that there was none in surnames, and as to Christian names the varieties are equally perplexing. Shakespeare's friend and neighbour, Mr. Shawe, spelt his in the following very extraordinary number of ways, — Julyus, Julius, Julie, Julyne, Jule, Julines, Julynes, July, Julye, Julyus and Julyles. As for orthography in language either in books or manuscripts of the Shakespearean period, all who are familiar with such matters know that the same word is frequently spelt in half-a-dozen various forms in a single page.

The choice of the pronunciation of Shakespeare's name is of course a question independent of the form in which it should be printed. The general instinct seems to be adverse to the ancient orthoepy of Shaxpere, and the main reason against the prudence of adopting the short form is that it might encourage the name to be so spoken. There can be little doubt that the poet was generally called Shaxpere or Shaxper in the provinces, but certainly not always. In the earliest known document respecting any member of the poet's family, one which refers to property at Snitterfield near

Stratford-on-Avon, the name of his grandfather is given as Shakespere, showing the first syllable to be long, and in the local manuscripts in which his father is continually mentioned, the name of the latter is variously written, Shakspeyr, Shaxspere, Shacksper, Shakspere, Shakyspere, Shakespere, Shaxpeare, Shakspeir, Shakysper, Shaxpere, Shakspeare, Shackespere, Schackspere, Shakspeyre, Shaksper, and Shakespeare, without the slightest notion of uniformity. The transcriber of the parish register is the most consistent, the majority of entries in that record being Shaksperc, but even there we have also the forms of Shakspeer, Shaxspere, and Shakspeare. The poet's intimate friends had clearly no notion that they were to spell his name in any particular fashion. Richard Quiney in 1598 addressed his celebrated letter "to my loveinge good frend and countreyman Mr. Wm. Shackespere." Alderman Sturley speaks of him in the same year as Mr. Shaksper. The great dramatist's kinsman and solicitor, Thomas Greene, wrote his client's name Shakspear, Shakspeare, and Shakspurre, and Mrs. and Mr. Hall, the poet's daughter and son-in-law, who must have known the correct orthography, had there been any settled form at the time, spell the name Shakspeare in the monumental inscription to

him while it is Shakespeare in that to his wife. Can anything more clearly show that nominal spelling was in those days a simple matter of chance or fancy?

There were occasional and rare exceptions, the most notable and illustrative being that of "rare Ben," who, although he apparently did not take the trouble to remonstrate with those friends who wrote and printed his name Johnson, appears, judging from the dozens of his signatures in existence, to have invariably written Jonson. This was probably to distinguish it from the commoner name, and, to the best of my belief, although I have not had the opportunity of verifying the fact, the shorter form is used in all his own printed dedicatory epistles. If Shakespeare's case were at all similar, if we had possessed numerous examples of his uniform signature* at various periods of life, and if the name in his dedications had appeared in the same form, then there would have been of course an end of the matter. But the facts do not bear out an important similarity. In those deeply interesting epistles to Lord Southampton, the

* But this in itself would go for very little. A celebrated earl invariably signed himself Leycester, yet no writer, treating of the Elizabethan period, would consider it necessary to introduce that antiquated orthography.

only letters of the great dramatist known to exist, attached to the only works we can confidently believe to have been issued with his sanction, the name appears in its full proportions with both the *e* and the *a*. These dedications, to Venus and Adonis in 1593 and to Lucrece in 1594, are to my mind absolutely conclusive of the general question.

There is no good pretence for raising a doubt of the generally acknowledged fact that those poems were issued under Shakespeare's immediate authority. The personal character of the dedications might alone suffice to indicate that this was the case. Not only was there no theatrical management to interfere with the copyright, as was the case with respect to most if not all of his plays, and no symptoms of the bookselling special interest in either of the publications, but both of them were printed, as Mr. Payne Collier* was the first to point out, by a

* This mention of my old friend's name gives me the opportunity of observing that, although, as it has been recently stated, I was the founder of the old Shakespeare Society, yet it was entirely owing to Mr. Collier's influence and active co-operation that the Society was ever established. Under his judicious and genial management every variety of Shakespearean opinion received friendly attention, the Society, during the thirteen years (1841 to 1853) of its existence, doing good and useful work quietly and amicably. Alas that it was not resuscitated on its

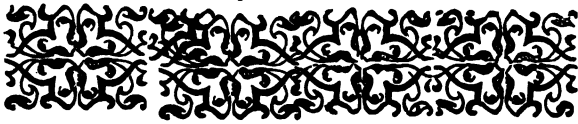
native of Stratford-on-Avon and the son of one of John Shakespeare's intimate friends. Every circumstance, indeed, connected with the publication of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* tends to show that they were printed under the author's sanction.

Under any circumstances, it is evident that Shakespeare had a voice in the matter with the printer or publisher when he proceeded to dedicate a second work to the same nobleman. Can any one believe that, if the great dramatist had really cared to have his name spelt without the *e* and the *a*, he would have permitted the longer form to remain in the second dedication? Is it not clear that, whatever phases his signature may have assumed, he either wished, or, at the very least, tacitly admitted that he did not dislike his name appearing as Shakespeare in his own printed works? Another piece of corroborative evidence is at the end of a poem which he contributed to *Chester's Loves Martyr*, 1601, and which could hardly have been inserted without his direct sanction. As if to place the matter beyond all doubt, his name is there

original basis of common-sense criticism when my late dear friend, Howard Staunton, so ardently desired and had practically commenced its revival in 1872! Let me here gratefully add how much I personally owed in early life to Mr. Collier's kind and unselfish encouragement.

printed with both the disputed letters and with a hyphen. See the annexed facsimile of the conclusion of this poem. The printed literature of Shakespeare's time is all but unanimous in the adoption of the longer orthography, and in it there are very few instances indeed of the omission of either the *e* or the *a*, while there are numerous examples of the occurrence of the full name with a hyphen, as in the poem just mentioned and in the *Sonnets*, published in 1609, where the hyphened name is given at length upwards of thirty times. It is, in fact, exceedingly curious that one form of a name of such easy variation should have been so generally adopted in print at a time when there was great laxity in such matters in printed books as well as in writings. Thus, in the interesting collection, *England's Parnassus*, 1600, while the name of one poet is spelt in four different ways,—Achilley, Achelly, Achellye, Achely,—and rare Ben's appears both as Johnson and Jhonson, that of the great dramatist is uniformly printed Shakespeare in upwards of forty instances in that small volume. I will now proceed to a consideration of the poet's five acknowledged signatures, the only examples of undoubted authenticity known to exist.

1. Indenture of Bargain to Shakespeare



Threnos.

Beautie, Truth, and Raritie,
 Grace in all simplicitie,
 Here enclosde, in cinders lie.

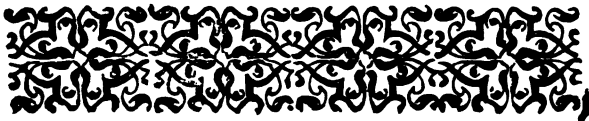
Death is now the *Phoenix* nest,
 And the *Turkies* loyall brest,
 To eternitie doth rest.

Leauing no posteritie,
 Twas not their infirmitie,
 It was married Chastitie.

Truth may seeme, but cannot be,
 Beautie bragge, but tis not she,
 Truth and Beautie buried be.

To this vrne let those repaire,
 That are either true or faire,
 For these dead Birds, sigh a prayer.

William Shake-speare.



of a house in Blackfriars, 10 March, 1613,* the original deed being now in the Guildhall Library. Here the signature is unquestionably Shakspeare, reading the contraction as *er*, and considering that which follows the *e* as a mere flourish. Sir F. Madden, indeed, reads the last syllable *per* and thinks that the contraction is for the final *e*. The same result follows from either theory, but the latter one would, I fancy, be more likely to be correct if it had referred to a document of an earlier date. The former is confirmed by what is apparently a very careful facsimile made by the elder Ireland soon after the discovery of the indenture, his original tracing being now in my possession.

2. Mortgage Deed of the same house, dated 11 March, 1613, now in the British Museum. Here again we have a contracted form, the only written letters of the second syllable being *spe*, but the mark of contraction is different from that in the previous deed, it appearing in this one as if it were an *α* in the published facsimile

* The original indenture of conveyance to Shakespeare, dated on the same day, is in my possession, and one of my choicest treasures. This deed, that which was enrolled in Chancery, is in fine and perfect condition, with the original official note of enrollment on the outside. It is endorsed,--*Walker et Shakespeare et al.*

of 1790, and *u* in recent copies, in either case implying, to judge from the usual meaning of abbreviations of the time, that an *a* was one of the letters of what was intended. The contraction is also clearly given as an *a* in Malone's original tracing made in the year 1784, and although he afterwards thought "that what was supposed to be that letter was only a mark of abbreviation with a turn or curl at the first part of it, which gave it the appearance of a letter," this latter notion was a mere conjecture hazarded without the advantage of another reference to the original (*Inquiry*, 1796, pp. 118-120), and is an opinion which will not stand the test of a close examination. Many years ago, the original deed now in the Museum was kindly brought to my house by its then owner, Mr. Troward, and my late valued friend, Mr. Fairholt, took the greatest pains on that occasion to make an accurate tracing of the poet's signature. The engraving from that facsimile may be seen in my folio edition of *Shakespeare*, vol. i., p. 209, and there the contraction is more like *a* than *u*, encouraging a suspicion that the top part of the former letter has been obliterated by the handling of the deed during the long period that has elapsed since the autograph was first traced by Malone.

Whether there is a probability in this suggestion might perhaps be decided by the use of a microscope; but, at all events, the form of Shakspeare cannot in this instance be admitted with anything like certainty.

The exact interpretation of this second autograph is, however, of little moment in our enquiry, for, as it has been well observed, "the contractions exhibited by these two signatures neutralize their evidence," and Shakespeare clearly intended by using those contractions that his name should be included within the narrow limits of the seal-labels. There are then, as absolute evidences of the poet's usage in his signatures, merely the three appended to the will, and these must be examined in detail,—

1. The first is now extremely indistinct, having suffered from the wear and tear of the manuscript. That it was originally Shakspeare may be safely concluded from the facsimile made by Steevens in 1776. Dr. Farmer also personally examined the document when it was in a more perfect state, and he confirms this reading in a manuscript note of his in my possession.

2. There is more doubt about the second one, the space between the *p* and the *r* apparently

indicating the original presence of two letters, which were read *ea* by Dr. Farmer, but, judging from the best facsimiles, and without a new inspection of the original, it is my conviction that here we should read Shakspeare, the minute blank between the *e* and the *r* being occasioned by the intervention of the loop of a letter hanging from the body of the will. Here again the microscope might be of use.

3. In the last autograph the second syllable appears to be *spear* in all the facsimiles, as it does in that of Steevens made in the year 1776, and then so accepted by Malone. The latter writer, indeed, afterwards changed his opinion, not, however, from a second examination of the original, but merely because an anonymous correspondent was of opinion that "though there was a superfluous stroke when the poet came to write the letter *r* in his last signature, probably from the tremor of his hand, there was no *a* discoverable in that syllable," Inquiry, 1796, p. 118. The notion of the tremor of the hand is simply gratuitous, the will having been executed more than a month before the death of the poet, and there being no evidence that he was then invalided. Be this as it may, the correspondent's surmise cannot invalidate the authority of Steevens's own tracing in

the original of which, still preserved, the letter *a* is clearly exhibited, the accuracy of the facsimile being ratified by the following note, — *G. Steevens delineavit accurate et testante Edmondo Malone, 1776.* That there are two letters between the *p* and the *r* seems beyond a reasonable doubt, and a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1789, reads *speere*, but surely the formation of the writing supports our first interpretation. But what about the first syllable of the autograph? A distinguished scholar has just pointed out to me—and it is, as in the case of the management of the egg by Columbus, most singularly curious so obvious a fact should have escaped the notice of all others—that the character following the letter *k* is the then well-known and accepted contraction* for *es*. There cannot be a doubt on this point, and therefore the poet's last signature appears in his own selected literary form of Shakespeare.

Malone expatiates on the "very extraordinary circumstance that a man should write his name twice one way, and once another, on the same

* Mr. Hardy, Appendix to Fortieth Report on the Public Records, p. 567, observes that this contraction "*generally* occurs at the end of words." Its situation in this signature is peculiar and difficult of explanation.

paper," *Inquiry*, p. 117; but it is not certain that the three signatures were written on the same day. At that period, the two first would not necessarily require the attendance of witnesses, and might have been added when the will was first copied ready for signing in January, or at any time between then and Lady Day.* On a careful examination it will be seen that the last signature differs somewhat in formation from the others, especially in that of the capital letter W. But even supposing that all the signatures were attached to the will on the same day, a variation in their forms would not be more extraordinary than that of Walter Roche, the poet's schoolmaster, signing his name twice in different ways on the same day in the same document, or than Margaret Trevelyan at a later period writing her own name and that of her husband with different spellings in the very same line,—“Margaret Trevelyan, for her husband George Trevelian.” Sir William Brown, who signed indiscriminately in at least three different ways, spells his name Browne in a letter to Lord Sidney, May 24th, 1604, and Broune in another

* There was so much laxity in such matters excepting in the presence of witnesses at the final signature, it is not at all unlikely that the day of the later month is incorrect. At all events it is singular that the will should be executed on the very same day of March on which it was originally dated in January.

letter written on the very next day to the same nobleman. I possess an indenture of the year 1692, in which one party signs his name Banckyes, his uncle Banckys, and his mother Bancks, all written on the same day. A little more research would no doubt produce many other like examples, although the extraordinary laxity formerly displayed by nearly every one in the orthography of surnames scarcely requires more confirmatory evidence. This is, in fact, the whole gist of the matter, that the forms of autographs were in those days no reliable guides for an uniform printed usage, and, as I ventured to say in my other pamphlet, "to follow signatures would revolutionize the whole system of early nominal orthography, and lead to preposterous results."

Now, in conclusion, with a flourish of magnanimity. If it be possible that any earnest Shakespearean student, after perusing the above luminous exposition, can wish to discard the *e* and the *a*, he has my solemn assurance that I shall not have the slightest inclination either to roar him down or quarrel with him on that account. On the contrary, if such an individual appear and will favour me with a visit, he shall be received with all the attention due to a *rara avis* at my primitive and

ornithological bungalow. Although my library is small, it includes some of the choicest Shakespearean rarities in the world, and there is also an unrivalled collection of drawings and engravings illustrative of the life of the great dramatist. A mere glance over the latter will occupy a summer's day. And the feast of reason shall be irrigated by the flow of port, claret, or madeira, and by what is not now to be seen every day of the week, really old sherry. If, unfortunately, he has forsworn racy potations and not discovered that good sherris-sack "ascends into the brain and dries there all the foolish, and dull, and crudy vapours which environ it," then are there our deep chalk wells, yielding an inexhaustible supply of the pure aqueous element as bright and sparkling as the waves and atmosphere of Brighton herself.

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS.

Hollingbury Copse,
Brighton,
January, 1880.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

How shall we spell the name of Shakspere? A pamphlet, bearing the signature of a Shaksperian expert, and the title, *New Lamps or Old*, revives this debated point in "A Few Additional Words on the Momentous Question Respecting the E and the A in the Name of Our National Dramatist." The writer, as is well known, defends Shakespeare against all other forms, and in spite of the signatures of Shakspere himself. His contention is that in Shakspere's time there was really no settled orthography, and that names were frequently signed differently on the same day and by the same person. Shakspere, contends Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, did exactly what was done by his contemporaries. He used contractions and spelled his name according to the whim or desire of the moment. But in the works published under his supervision he adopted the full form Shakespeare. The deeply interesting epistles to Lord Southampton have the signature with the *e* and the *a*, and are "absolutely conclusive on the general question." It is evident that the contemporaries of Shakspere were as lax as Shakspere himself is alleged to have been in the spelling of the name. Richard Quiney wrote Shakespeare, Alderman Sturley wrote Shaksper, Thomas Greene spelled the name in three different ways, while in Stratford Church the name on the monument is Shakespeare while on the monument of the poet's wife it is Shakespeare. After reading all this and a great deal more very interesting evidence in favour of Shakespeare, those who have adopted Shakspere will adhere to that form for the best of all reasons—they have it in the poet's own handwriting in the majority of his accepted signatures. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps maintains that it would be preposterous to follow signatures when we have access to a selected literary form. But this seems very like saying that we must refuse evidence which brings us directly into contact

with Shakspeare personally, and rely on a form which may or may not have had his deliberate sanction. When we look on the signatures we see evidence supplied by Shakspeare himself; when we look at the dedications of *Venus and Adonis* we see evidence supplied by a printer.* No wonder then that some of us, with all deference to a most conscientious, diligent, and able scholar, prefer Shakspeare.—*Western Daily Press*.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps has materially strengthened his argument in favour of spelling the name of our greatest poet with the additional *e* after *k*,—Shakespeare, in "A Few Additional Words on the Momentous Question respecting the E and the A in the name of our National Dramatist." We quite agree with him that there ought to be uniformity in this matter. It is surely time we arrived at a determination concerning it. Our own argument has been that while we receive the name as Shake-speare in pronunciation, the poet has not used the *e* after the *k* in any of his signatures remaining to us. The suggestion now is that in one of the signatures to the will the character following the letter *k* is the then well-known and accepted contraction for *es*. This, if established, should suffice to settle the matter. The objection that will probably be taken is the infrequency of the use of that contraction anywhere but at the *end* of a word. If, however, we remember that in some of the dedications the word is divided by a hyphen, its introduction before the hyphen might be accepted as probable.—*The Builder*.

To the antiquary there are no such things as trifles; to the Englishman everything connected with the name of Shakspeare is sacred. Hence it can excite no surprise to find that a vivacious controversy is now proceeding as to the proper spelling of Shakspeare's name. There has always been a curious want of uniformity in the orthographical presentation of the surname of our national dramatist. Dr. Johnson, Rowe, and other com-

* This is adroitly but not very fairly put. The balance of probability is clearly in favour of the printed form having been sanctioned by the poet himself.—J. O. H.-P.

mentators spell it Shakspeare; Dyce and Cowden Clarke say Shakespeare; in the folio of his works, brought out by his own intimate associates, the form of Shakespeare is used. The Stratford register contains entries of the poet's baptism and death, of the baptism of his children, and the death of his son. In these the name is uniformly spelled Shakspere. The quarto editions of the plays, and, what is still more important, the editions of the poems issued during his lifetime say Shakespeare. Of manuscript evidence there is, unfortunately, very little, and it is not quite consistent. There are only five signatures of the poet that are beyond all doubt authentic. The signatures to the indenture of bargain and mortgage deed of the house in Blackfriars are both contracted so as to get the name included within the narrow limits of the seal label, and it has been said that the varying "contractions exhibited by these two signatures neutralise their evidence." So far as they go, one appears to be Shakspere, but the other is more doubtful. There remain, then, the three signatures to the will. The first is admittedly Shakspere; the space between the *e* and the *r* of the second signature was read *ea* by Dr. Farmer, but Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps is of opinion that the minute blank was caused by the intervention of the loop of a letter hanging from the body of the will. The third signature was given in all the fac-similes as Shakspeare, though Malone afterwards thought there was reason for discarding the *a*. Such, in brief, is the body of evidence. Of late years greater favour has been given to the shorter forms of Shakspere's name, and Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps on recently advocating the longer form was assailed by an outcry of Toryism. Undaunted by his opponents, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps returns to the charge, and in a pamphlet bearing the title of *Old Lamps and New* sets forth his reasons for desiring to retain "the *e* and the *a* in the name of our national dramatist." The first matter to be remembered is that in Shakspere's days there was no settled orthography of surnames. In local MSS. the name of the poet's family is given as Shakspeyr, Shaxspere, Schackspere, Shakyspere, Shaxpeare, and other forms, without the slightest uniformity. Mr. Halliwell-

Phillipps lays stress upon the fact that the subscriptions to the dedications of the poems is in the longest form of the name. "Is it not clear," he asks, "that, whatever phases his signature may have assumed, he either wished, or at least tacitly admitted, that he did not dislike his name appearing as Shakespeare in his own printed works?" The same form is used at the end of the poem in Chester's *Love's Martyr*, 1601, whilst the printed literature of the time "is all but unanimous" in using it. On the other hand, there is one argument not to be disdained for the spelling Shakspeare. It is the shortest orthography that has yet been proposed, and that in a busy age is a very great recommendation. — *The Manchester Guardian*.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps has just issued an interesting little pamphlet, full of both erudition and humour, on the mode of spelling the name of the national dramatist. He argues that Shakespeare is the proper manner, commencing his observations by amusing references to the virulence of some gentlemen of the "intense" sort, who compared the reluctance to adopt the shorter form of the poet's name with the fearful obstruction of Toryism to everything that is correct and proper. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps proceeds to point out that in the dramatist's time a person's signature was scarcely evidence at all of the correct orthography of his own name or that of his relatives. He instances a number of examples in which a man signed his name in one way and his wife in another, and of two or three forms of signature by one individual. Thus, says the author, one of the poet's sons-in-law wrote himself Quyne, Quyne, and Conoy, while his brother, the curate, signed Quiney. His other son-in-law, Dr. Hall, signed himself Hawle and Hall. Thomas Nash, who married the poet's granddaughter, signed himself both Nash and Nashe. In point of fact, people in those days signed their names according to taste or momentary caprice. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps examines the acknowledged signatures of the poet; and dismissing those of the indenture of bargain of the house in Blackfriars and of the mortgage deed of the same property as having contracted letters, and therefore useless for the purposes of the inquiry, he proceeds to consider

the three signatures affixed to the will. The first autograph he pronounces to be Shakspere, the second probably the same, while the third he concludes was Shakespeare, which was also the printed signature affixed to the dedications of the poems. The pamphlet comes to a close with a funny but highly genial invitation from the accomplished and kindly old scholar, asking those who disagree with him to pay him a visit at Hollingbury Copse and discuss the matter amicably over some "really old sherry."—*Birmingham Daily Globe*.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, the well-known Shakspearean scholar and enthusiast, has written a pamphlet some thirty pages long in order to settle for ever the momentous question "respecting the E and the A in the name of our National Dramatist." A very bright and sparkling brochure is this controversial tract dated from Hollingbury Copse, Brighton ; but its most original feature is a hospitable invitation to Shakspearean students—and they must be legion—to visit the author and look over his library, containing "the choicest Shakspearean rarities in the world, and an unrivalled collection of drawings and engravings illustrative of the life of the great dramatist." Nay, more, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps promises to entertain his guests in splendid fashion. "The feast of reason," he says, "shall be irrigated by the flow of port, claret, or madeira, and by what is not now to be seen every day of the week, really good sherry." As for the teetotallers, they are promised "an inexhaustible supply of the pure aqueous element from our deep chalk wells." But, supposing all the Shakspearean students in the United Kingdom accepted the universal invitation on the same day, how long would the cellars or the wells of Hollingbury Copse hold out?—*The Illustrated London News*.

THE LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE.

Under the title of *Contributions towards a Life of Shakespeare*, it is possible, health, strength, and inclination permitting, that I may some day commence a series of folio volumes in which I should hope to fully investigate the truth or probability of every recorded incident in the personal and literary history of the great dramatist, and to include a vast mass of correlative information, the accumulation of many years' researches, the whole to be copiously illustrated with wood engravings and fac-similes. Amongst the latter would be fac-similes of every known contemporary document in which the name of the poet appears.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the compilation of a satisfactory life of Shakespeare is an impossibility. A biography without correspondence, without details of conversation, and without any full contemporary delineations of character, must necessarily be fragmentary. There is, however, more to be learned respect-

ing the history of the poet's career than many people would imagine, and some new facts and much that is suggestive that have not yet been published. Moreover, a new and most interesting source of information has just unexpectedly opened, and this circumstance has tended more than anything else to overcome my increasing reluctance to encounter the worries of publication. Researches, at least in my case, are not energetically carried on if there is no ultimate view of some use being made of the results. A part of my scheme would include minute details respecting the condition of Stratford-on-Avon in the time of the poet, and generally, as was stated when I projected a similar work in 1874, to give notices of his surroundings, that is to say, amongst others, of the members of his family, the persons with whom he associated, the books he used, the stage on which he acted, the estates he purchased, the houses and towns in which he resided, and the country through which he travelled. The consideration of these and similar topics will not be without its biographical value. It will bring us nearer

to a knowledge of Shakespeare's personality if we can form even an approximate idea of the condition of England and its people in his own day, the sort of places in which he lived, how he made his fortune, the occupations and social positions of his relatives and friends, the nature of the ancient stage, and the usages of contemporary domestic life.

The numerous traditions respecting the great dramatist have never been minutely investigated. It is astonishing how long personal traditions lingered in the provinces before the newspaper age, and any that can be traced even so far back as the last century deserve careful examination. There are many that are sheer inventions, others extremely doubtful, but some that can be partially authenticated. In this department of the biography I have had the advantage of a close friendship and numerous discussions on the subject with the late R. B. Wheler and W. O. Hunt, of Stratford-on-Avon, the last links of the traditional period. All genuine oral traditions have now expired, but unfortunately a considerable number of similar stories have

been unblushingly fabricated in even recent years. The assurance with which these have been uttered would be amusing were it not so mischievous.

Charles Dickens, in one of his hasty letters, writes thus:—"The life of Shakespeare is a fine mystery, and I tremble every day lest something should come up." Now, if I thought that there were even a remote chance of a revelation that would exhibit Shakespeare in the light of one who could in any fairness be termed a bad man, my inquisitive researches would not be continued. But there is too abundant favourable evidence of his general character to render such a contingency possible. That he was wild in his youth, that he sometimes drank a little more wine than was good for him, and that he occasionally flirted with the young ladies at the Bankside more freely than Mrs. Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon would have approved of, may be conceded by those who do not consider it requisite to assume that the greatest of poets must necessarily be the greatest of saints. But that he deliberately would either have ruined

the character of another, or betrayed the domestic confidence of a friend or host, is too inconsistent with the contemporary opinions of his character to be at all credible. With the exception of a tale that is a palpable fabrication, the Davenant story is the only recorded one respecting Shakespeare which, if true, would really involve an accusation of criminality; but so difficult is it to eradicate scandal, however baseless, that the tale has been accepted as truthful for many generations and by even recent writers. It is, therefore, with peculiar satisfaction that, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, I can announce the discovery of contemporary evidences which prove decisively that there is not a word of truth in the libel.

The first volume of the projected series could not be completed at the earliest before the Spring of next year.

I do not intend to receive subscribers' names, as the work will not be so published. If it ever appear, it will be obtainable only through a special London agent, and the impression will be extremely limited. This preliminary an-

nouncement is made in the hope of ascertaining whether there is sufficient interest taken in the subject to encourage the commencement of so large and costly an undertaking.

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS.

Hollingbury Copse,
Brighton,
3rd April, 1880.

NOTE.

The foregoing letter appeared in *The Athenæum* of April the 10th, and the correspondence it has elicited has been wholly of a gratifying and encouraging character. I find, however, on careful enquiry, that the mode of publication therein suggested is surrounded by insuperable difficulties, that is to say, if I retain, as I desire, a perfect independence of action, with freedom from all subscription and publishing troubles. Instead, therefore, of commencing a series that might seem to demand continuation, I propose to issue a number of small occasional volumes, of various sizes and of limited impression, each one to be a separate work in itself. Thus, there will be one volume on the Davenant scandal, another on the Globe Theatre, a third on the deer-stealing adventure, another on the poet's last illness, and so on. These will be submitted at intervals to public auction in London, so that an intending purchaser can give a commission to his bookseller even for a single volume, which, as has been previously observed, will in each case form a distinct publication in itself.

LETTER FROM COLONEL CHESTER.

London, 11 May, 1880.

DEAR MR. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS,

Here is a crucial illustration of the axiom that there was no standard of orthography for surnames down to so late as the latter part of the seventeenth century. I have before me the old parish register of St. Albans Abbey, and it appears that in February, 1680, a Mr. John Wiltshire, according to modern orthography, had three children baptized. The entries were made by the same scribe at the same instant, and yet, in three consecutive lines, he wrote the surname respectively,—

Wilcksheir.

Wilcheir.

Wiltcher.

I do not think that I have ever come across a more flagrant instance, and so I communicate it to you.

Sincerely yours,

JOS. L. CHESTER.

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, ESQ.

SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS:

THE SEPARATE EDITIONS OF, WITH THE ALTERATIONS
DONE BY VARIOUS HANDS:

BY

H. T. HALL,

*Author of "Shakspearean Fly Leaves," "The May Queen,"
"The Dramatic Album," &c., &c.*

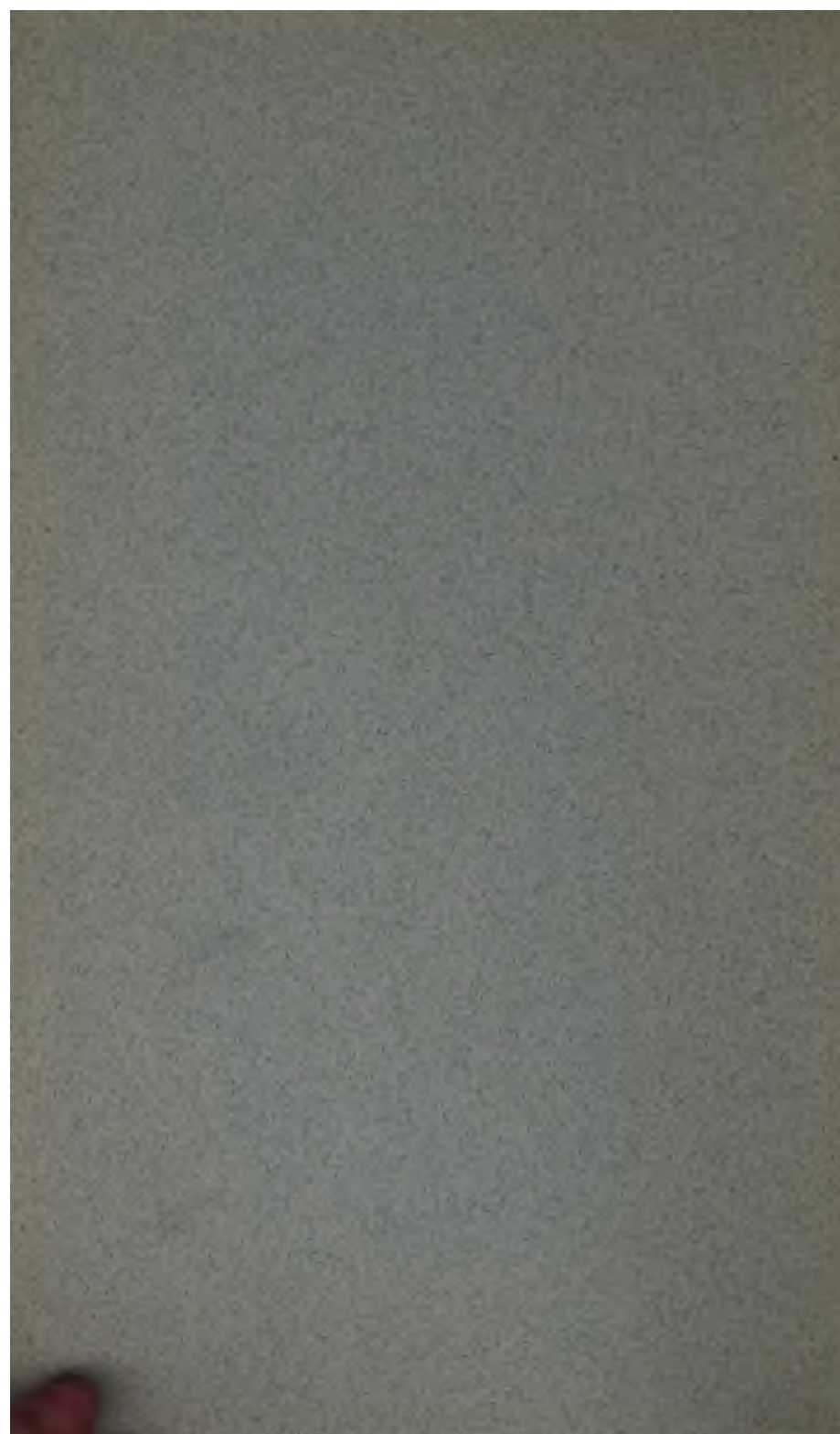
SECOND EDITION.

CAMBRIDGE:

H. W. WALLIS, BOOKSELLER, SIDNEY STREET.

1880.

PRICE ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE.



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TO THE READER.

IN preparing a new and enlarged edition of this brief chronicle of the various revised, altered, and so-called improved versions of the Plays of William Shakspeare, the author does not expect to meet with general accord; yet he trusts that the admirers of the foremost poet of the world will not take umbrage at his effort, "for never anything can be amiss, when simpleness and duty tender it." He has sought by close attention, "correction and instruction," to make the pamphlet reliable; and, with all due "reason and respect," he hopes that his labour of love will not turn out to be "Love's Labour Lost."

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INTRODUCTION.

THE immense popularity of the works of Shakspeare is most clearly shown by the very great number of editions which have been brought out, numbering not less than 542 in his native language, and also by the multitudinous editions of his Plays which have been separately published. The universality of knowledge contained in the dramas of Shakspeare—their thorough development of humanity, possessing as they do more actual wisdom than the whole body of English learning—have won for them the highest appreciation and general acceptance. Not only in the country of his birth, but throughout Europe—even in the far East and the cold North—have the Plays of Shakspeare found readers and translators. In England his praises are on all men's tongues who are in any way acquainted with English literature; and through the medium of dramatic representations they have become "as familiar as household words" amongst the play-going public. Yet despite this great popularity, but little is known relative to the manner in which the Shakspearean drama has served the purposes of other dramatists, who in their "profound conceit" have thought they could improve, adorn and beautify the

works of our many-sided master. Little is known how his works have been cut, trimmed and manipulated by various dramatic writers and actors. The general public in the past century and even in the present one, have not unfrequently "taken these tenders for true pay which are not sterling," and applauded lines and scenes which were never written by Shakspeare. His plots have been altered and his language has been fashioned afresh by each reviser and improver of his works, so that they have lost their force, brilliancy and characterisation. He has had "sick interpreters," whose bad doings have been "cried up for his best art," and these "continual plodders" have "won authority from other's books." The "justness of each act" has often been destroyed by being "patched with cloth of any colour," which these "daws," who "have been at a great feast of languages and stolen the scraps," have sought to tack on. His "greatness subjected to the breath of every fool," who, "crammed with arrogancy, spleen and pride," have sought to "carry his honours ever," and "in defect of judgment" ripened "in the sunshine of his favour," and in the "shadow of such greatness." In some instances our bard has had to incur public odium for work not his own, and thus "the greatest are mis-thought for things that others do." "The world's large tongue" has now found utterance on his behalf, and these "thieves of occasion," who have drawn out the "thread of their verbosity" much "finer than the staple of their argument," "now stand upon slippery ground," and are fast falling into the waters of that lake which is known by the name of Oblivion.

Some of the alterations which have been made are of the strangest character, and none more so than those made by Davenant and Dryden. The circle for whom

they sought to "gild refined gold and to paint the lily," indulged in lewdness and profanity, and there cannot be any question that the Court of the latest Stuarts was marked by conduct of a libidinous nature. The alterations made by succeeding dramatists and actors have in no way added to the worth of Shakspeare, but, on the other hand, have demonstrated the inability of those who made the alterations to comprehend the greatness of Shakspeare, who seems to grow ever more in wisdom and truth as we ourselves in wisdom grow. The wonderful vitality of the works of Shakspeare is evidenced in the fact, that though so frequently weighted with the dross of others, they still keep the stage and are more than ever read. So great is the influence of his works, that in the past and in the present, he has been—

" the charmer of each age,
Whose thoughts so subtly with our growth have grown,
We are not conscious they are not our own."

Each succeeding year adds to the number of students and readers of the works of the "sweet swan of Avon;" and this considerable increase in the number of students and readers of Shakspeare's works during the last hundred years has been productive of several advantages: it has led to a full and searching inquiry into the text of Shakspeare, by a close comparison between the early folio and quarto editions of his works, and the result of this enquiry has been the gradual disuse of most of the so-called improvements and alterations of his plays, and the diffusion of a more extended knowledge of his original text, and of the art and manner he has displayed in the construction of his dramas; at the same time, it has also enforced a greater necessity on the part of theatrical managers to adhere more closely to the original text when seeking to represent

the poet's works. But three of the alterations may now be said to keep the stage : Richard III. by Colley Cibber, King Lear by Nahum Tate, and Katharine and Petruchio by David Garrick ; and these three versions are in all probability about the worst that were ever made. Most of the versions which have been produced in the last twenty-five years on the English stage keep very close to the text of Shakspeare, more particularly those of Phelps, C. Kean, Calvert and Irving ; the first named having edited an excellent edition of the works of Shakspeare, which displays true scholarship, combined with a reverent love for the great master's productions. The other acting editions are chiefly remarkable for their sins of omission and transposition, than for any other offence against the true text. The purport of the following pages, is to show the number and nature of the alterations that have been effected, and also to give the number of editions of the separate plays that have been printed and published.



COMEDIES.

THE TEMPEST, 45 *Editions*. In 1667, this play was altered by John Dryden and Sir W. Davenant, and produced at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, on November 7th. Of this alteration eleven editions were published: eight in quarto and three in 12mo. This joint alteration embraced omissions and additions, most of the latter being weak and in extreme bad taste. In this version, the authors have introduced Hippolito, a man who has never seen a woman, and Sycorax, a sister-monster to Caliban; they have also given Prospero another daughter, called Dorinda, and the quaint and delicate Ariel was provided with a female companion called Milcha. Trinculo is converted into the boatswain, and speaks a good deal of the language which belongs of right to Stephano; and two fresh sailors, Ventoso and Mustacho, are added to the dramatic personæ. In the 4th act Hippolito is wounded, and Ariel says of him—

“ His soul stood almost at life's door, all bare
And naked, shivering like boys upon a river's
Bank, and loth to tempt the cold air, but I took
Her, and stopp'd her in.”

Dorinda asks, “ What is the soul ? ”

Hippo. “ A small blue thing that runs about within us.
Dor. Then I have seen it in a frosty morning run
Smoaking from my mouth.”

This is the kind of balderdash that has been thrust into Shakspeare's play, and was looked upon and valued by its authors as an improvement upon the elder bard. In 1673, it was altered by Shadwell and converted into an opera, with a choice selection of new scenes and new machinery. It was produced at Dorset Garden Theatre with great success, the treasury of the theatre realising a large sum by its production.* In 1674, *The Mock Tempest*, or the Enchanted Castle, a farce in five acts, by Duffet,† was produced. The great success of Shadwell's version at the other theatre was the cause of this farce or burlesque being brought out at the Theatre Royal. There is not much in this piece, but the song of Ariel, "Where the bee sucks, there suck I," is very happily imitated—

"Where good ale is, there suck I,
In a cobbler's stall I lie,
While the watch are passing by;
Then about the streets I fly,
After cullies merrily:
And I merrily, merrily take up my clo'se,
Under the watch and the constable's nose."

In 1756, David Garrick altered it to an opera; the

* Great attention to show and scenic effect seems to have been prevalent at this time, for Dryden, in one of his prologues spoken at the opening of the new Theatre Royal, on March 24th, 1674, thus alludes to it:—

"'Twere folly now a stately pile to raise,
To build a playhouse while you throw down plays,
While scenes, machines and empty operas reign,
And for the pencil, you the pen disdain."

† This author wrote two other burlesques: "*The Empress of Morocco*" and "*Pachye Debauched*," both of which were produced at the Theatre Royal. That the public taste for this class of entertainment did not long continue, is evidenced by some verses written soon after the production of these pieces:—

"The dullest scribblers some admirers found,
And *The Mock Tempest* was a while renown'd;
But this low stuff the town at last despis'd,
And scorn'd the folly that they once had pris'd."

music being by Mr. Smith. Prospero in this version is made to sing, and some of the other parts are borrowed from Dryden. There is a lot of arrant nonsense sung in the opera, and none more so than that sung by Ariel, from Dryden's *Tyrannic Love*:

"Merry, merry, merry, we sail from the east,
Half tippled at a rainbow feast."

In 1776 it was altered by R. B. Sheridan; the songs with music by T. Linley, jun. Two editions of this version appeared. In 1780 it was altered and produced as "*The Shipwreck*," at the Patagonian Theatre. In 1789, J. P. Kemble altered it from the Dryden and Davenant version. Kemble restored a good deal of Shakspeare, though he retained most of Dryden's unnatural additions. This renovated version was produced at Drury Lane Theatre, on October 13th, 1789, and acted about fifteen times. In Act 1 of this version Ferdinand does not appear, and it concludes in the same manner as the Dryden version, with a scene between Miranda and Dorinda. Act 2 opens with a dull song by Ariel, then the wreck of the ship, which sinks; Trinculo swims ashore; the scene between Alonzo and others is omitted. Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo appear as in Shakspeare's play; then follows a long selection from Dryden, and the act terminates with a scene between Miranda and Ferdinand from the first act of the original play. Act 3 opens with the first meeting of Miranda and Ferdinand from Shakspeare; then follows Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo as in Shakspeare: Prospero, as per Dryden, allows Miranda to see Ferdinand, and when she is left alone she sings a song; Ferdinand enters with a log. This part is from Shakspeare; they then sing a duet and the scene is con-

cluded from Dryden. The banquet scene is made very short and the act concludes with a duet and chorus of furies. Act 4 begins with Shakspeare, and the rest part thereof is derived from Dryden. Act 5 is mainly composed of Dryden ; Prospero's abjuration of his magical power, as written by Shakspeare, is omitted, excepting some three or four lines ; then five weak lines by Kemble introduce the masque of Neptune and Amphitrite, and Ariel and the spirits conclude the play with "Where the bee sucks," &c. Miss Farren personated the character of Dorinda, Mrs. Goodall that of Hippolito, and Mrs. Crouch, Miranda. Three editions of this alteration were published : one in 1789, 1806 and 1807. In 1815, Kemble made still further alterations in this comedy, by omitting more of Dryden and restoring more of Shakspeare. Neither of these alterations add to the credit of Kemble, either as an actor or Shakspearean scholar, for he must still be classed with those who have won disgrace for themselves by mutilating the text of Shakspeare. In 1821, this play was again converted into an opera, and produced at Covent Garden Theatre on May 15th. This mutilation is one among the worst ever perpetrated by our English play-vampers, who, secure in their own puny powers, fail not to introduce a farrago of unmeaning nonsense into the works of the great poet. Mr. Macready was the Prospero of the opera ; Miss Stephens, Dorinda ; Miss Hallande, Miranda ; Miss Foote, Ariel ; Mr. Emery, Caliban ; Mr. W. Farren, Stephano ; Trinculo, Blanchard ; Alonso, Egerton ; Ferdinand, Abbott ; and Hippolito, Duruset. The additional songs and dialogue were added by Reynolds. On May 28th, 1824, Shakspeare's *Tempest*, after a lapse of fifteen years, was revived for one night. This, however, was not Shakspeare's play, but an excised version

of Dryden and Davenant, for two or three of their characters were retained. It was played for the benefit of Madame Vestris, and it was cast as follows:— Prospero, Mr. Macready; Ferdinand, Mr. S. Penley; Caliban, Browne; Stephano, Dowton; Trinculo, Gattie; Alonso, Archer; Hippolito, Miss S. Booth; Miranda, Miss Povey; Dorinda, Miss Stephens; Ariel, first time, Madame Vestris. Two editions of the *Tempest* have been published in Phonetic spelling: one in 1849 and one in 1864.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA, 13 *Editions*. In 1763, this Comedy, with alterations and additions by Benjamin Victor, was produced at Drury Lane. The alterations chiefly consist of the transpositions of scenes, the combining of one act with another, the omission of many speeches, the curtailment of others, and the introduction of speeches written by Victor himself; such speeches, instead of adding to the strength of the comedy or to the improvement of its acting, very materially detract from its general merits, and serve only to produce much confusion and absurdity. Two fresh scenes were added to the fifth act by Victor for the purpose of introducing Speed and Lance, and they are entirely unmeaning and unnecessary. Victor has also added the following lines as a tag, which are spoken by Proteus:—

“Thanks, generous Valentine:—and I myself
Will be the trumpet of my Julia's worth,
Her stedfast faith, her still enduring love,
And of my own misdoings—Pardon me,
Ye who have ever known what 'tis to err!
And be this truth by all the world confess'd,
That lovers must be faithful to be bless'd.”

In 1790, this comedy was revived at Covent Garden

Theatre, with the addition of songs, duetts, glees and choruses selected from the entire works of Shakspeare. In 1808, this comedy was altered by J. P. Kemble, whose alterations are chiefly based upon Victor's version. The additions made by Kemble are in very bad taste, for he has adopted some of Victor's worst alterations, at the same time accepting the consolidation of the first and fourth scenes in the second act of the original play. The poverty of thought and language which marks the additions, when compared with the comedy originally written, serves to prove that Kemble was less familiar with the play of Shakspeare than he was with the mangled abortion of Victor's. In 1821, Reynolds degraded this comedy into an opera, which was produced at Covent Garden Theatre, on November 29th. This version was never printed, but it was said that the speeches were so clipt, altered, transposed and added to, that the strength and sweetness of Shakspeare's language was completely marred. The characterisation of the comedy was also in a great measure destroyed, and the whole production was executed in the worst taste. What Dryden said of D'Urfey is equally applicable to Reynolds,—“let him alone, he will do something worse presently.”

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR, 37 *Editions*. This is one of the most mirthful comedies that Shakspeare ever wrote. Its action is not only rapid but it is extremely varied. Its characters are so broadly marked that they cannot well fail to please; yet in conjunction with many other examples of the Shakspearean drama, it has undergone much altering and adapting at the hands of the self-installed improvers of the bard's text. In 1702, John Dennis tried his cunning hand in seeking

to destroy the great master's work, by adapting this comedy and making it his own. His piece was called "The Comical Gallant, or the Amours of Sir John Falstaff." In this alteration Dennis has retained about one-half of Shakspeare's play, and he has also changed the language of the scenes which he has retained. This manipulation of the words of the poet by Dennis proves his incapacity as a Shakspearean critic, and shows how valueless must be any opinion which he has put forth on the merits of Shakspeare. The whole conduct of the comedy is changed and Dennis has added one new character,—the host of the Bull, a brother of Mrs. Ford ; Mrs. Dorothy Tearsheet is substituted for Mrs. Quickly, and Fenton and Anne Page are much enlarged. The following syllabus of Dennis's comedy will show the changes :—

Act 1st begins with Fenton and the Host of the Garter—then comes a scene between Fenton and Anne Page—Shallow, Slender and Sir Hugh enter—Falstaff discharges Pistol and Nym—Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford compare the letters—the act concludes with a poor scene between Page and Ford.

Act 2. Mrs. Dorothy comes to Falstaff with a message from Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page—Ford visits Falstaff as Broom. This scene is materially altered. Dr. Caius and Sir Hugh quarrel, and are reconciled.

Act 3. The scene lies at the Bull Inn—Falstaff and Mrs. Ford meet by appointment—Mrs. Page enters, disguised as Captain Dingboy—she pretends to have an intrigue with Mrs. Ford and frightens Falstaff by discharging a pistol at him—on the approach of Ford, Falstaff is carried off in a buck basket—Mrs. Page beats Ford—her peruke falls off and she is discovered.

Act 4. Falstaff and Ford, as Broom, have a second

meeting—the Host of the Bull tells Ford that Falstaff and Mrs. Ford are to meet at Herne's Oak—Anne Page has a scene with Fenton and another with Slender—the latter is chiefly from Shakspeare's first act.

Act 5. Mrs. Ford says her husband is gone to London—Falstaff enters to Mrs. Ford, and Mrs. Page, as Herne the Hunter—a terrible symphony is heard—Falstaff secretes himself in a tuft of trees—the pretended fairies bring in Ford, dressed as Falstaff—they sing a song and beat Ford to a stockfish—Falstaff escapes unhurt—Ford is cured of his jealousy—Slender and Dr. Caius enter, both of them in women's clothes and masked—Fenton and Anne Page enter, unmasked—Slender and Dr. Caius fight, for the Host of the Garter, disguised as a parson, has married Dr. Caius to Slender.

In 1797, J. P. Kemble altered this comedy, and a second edition of his alteration was published in 1804. In 1824, this comedy was converted into an opera by Reynolds, and produced at Drury Lane Theatre on June 1st. The alterations and additions made in this version were wretchedly conceived and equally as badly executed, yet the opera ran for thirty-two nights. The manner in which the songs were introduced by Reynolds one example will suffice. In the scene, after the duel between Sir Hugh and Dr. Caius had terminated, and the characters had withdrawn, Fenton enters and says, "How I love this spot, where dear Anne Page so often has met me and confessed her love!—Ha! I think the sky is overcast,—the wind too blows like an approaching storm; well—let it blow on—I am prepared to brave its fury," and he then sings "Blow, blow, thou winter's wind."

TWELFTH NIGHT, 20 *Editions*. In 1663, this Comedy

was altered and produced at the Theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields, the character of Viola being omitted in the representation. The omission of Viola must have materially detracted from the interest of the comedy, for the involution and perplexity of its plot is much added to through Viola's assumption of male attire. The fulness of love, though tinged with melancholy, which marks the Duke's character, could have had no development without the presence of Viola, whose love is filled with sweet and tender emotion, and distinguished by its grace and purity. In 1703, this comedy was altered by C. Burnaby, and produced under the title of "Love Betrayed, or the Agreeable Disappointment," at the Theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields. This is a very poor alteration of Shakspeare's comedy, the depth and power of the language is materially changed, though the plot and the main incidents are preserved. The names of the characters are changed, much of the dialogue is written afresh, and two new characters, Pedro, servant to Sebastian, and Dromia, an old lady, are introduced. Moreno, Drances, Roderique and Villaretta are taken from the Duke, Sir Toby, Antonio and Olivia. In the year 1820, Frederic Reynolds converted this comedy into an opera, which was produced at Covent Garden Theatre, on November 8th, and it ran seventeen nights. This degradation of Shakspeare was never printed, and wisely so, for its author's sake, for his alterations were said to be of the most wretched character.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE, 16 *Editions*. In 1662, this play was altered by Sir W. Davenant, and produced at Lincoln's Inn Theatre, on February 18th, where it met with great success. It was published under

the title of "The Law against Lovers."* In this version, Davenant has combined the two plays of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado about Nothing*, for the characters of Benedick and Beatrice are added to the dramatis personæ. Davenant has also introduced a variety of songs and dances in which Escalus, Benedick and Beatrice take part. He has also introduced a new character, one Viola, a younger sister of Beatrice, who dances a saraband to the accompaniment of castagnettes. He has so altered the language by cutting out the poetic expressions and by the adoption of everyday phrases, that the force and richness of the language of Shakspeare is almost annihilated. The following speech from the fourth scene of the first act is a fair specimen of how Davenant understood the elder bard and how he treated him :—

"None, holy father, better knows than you,
How I have ever lik'd a life retir'd ;
And still have weary of assemblies been,
Where witless youth comes drest to be ador'd.
I have delivered to Lord Angelo
(A man of strictness, and firm abstinence),
My absolute pow'r and place here in Turin ;
And he believes me travelling to Spain ;
Now (pious sir) you will demand of me,
Why I do this ? "

The whole plan and organism of the play is entirely destroyed by Davenant, for instead of a complete unity of design, he gives a series of scenes, intrigues and events which produce the wildest and most extravagant confusion, destroying the characterisation by changing the motives which engender action, and the plot is so

* Pepys, in his diary, thus alludes to this comedy : " I went thither and saw 'The Law against Lovers,' a good play and well performed, especially the little girl's (whom I never saw act before) dancing and singing ; and were it not for her, the losse of Roxalana would spoil the house."—Vol. I., p. 248.

much marred, that it becomes "flat, stale and unprofitable." In 1700, this play was much altered by C. Gildon, and produced under the title of "Beauty, the best Advocate," at the Theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Many of the alterations of Sir W. Davenant were also adopted by Gildon, whose own alterations of the Shakspearean text are decidedly much worse than his predecessor. He omits the whole of the comic characters, and with the exception of the scene between the Duke and the Friar, the whole of the first act is omitted. Claudio is represented as privately married to Julietta, and Angelo to Mariana. The part of the Duke is reduced to a very insignificant one, and a strange assortment of blunders are introduced. Scenes and incidents are transposed and shuffled at his will, while the language is most fearfully mutilated. To make Shakspeare palatable to the taste of the period, Gildon has introduced four musical entertainments, in each of which occurs a dance, thus combining, as he no doubt thought, the advantages of the opera and the ballet, with the language and characterisation of the poet. In 1789, J. P. Kemble produced a revised edition at Drury Lane; and in 1803, another revised edition at Covent Garden Theatre.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING, 28 *Editions*. In 1737, this Comedy was altered by James Miller, and produced at Drury Lane Theatre on February 28th, under the title of "The Universal Passion." This alteration is one among the worst ever perpetrated, for not content with borrowing from and altering Shakspeare, Miller has also borrowed from and altered Moliere's "Princess of Elis." Though the works of two dramatists are thus laid under contribution to furnish this nondescript of a play, the

result does not in the slightest degree redound to the credit, but rather to the disgrace of this borrower and mutilator of other men's works. The first four acts are derived in about equal portions from the text of Shakspeare and Moliere, while the adapter, the better to strengthen his production, causes Bellario, the Claudio of the original comedy, to speak some lines from the "Two Gentlemen of Verona." This version succeeded in running nine nights. In 1799, it was adapted by J. P. Kemble, and two other editions were published of his adaptation: one in 1810 and one in 1815.

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM,* 42 *Editions*. In 1646, this Comedy was altered by Robert Cox, and the comical part was published under the title of "The Merry conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver," and again in 1661. In 1681, the fifth edition was published under the title of "Piramus and Thisbe." In 1692, it was represented as an opera, and called "The Fairy Queen." Many changes are made in this version, but those made in the fifth act are of a most singular character. Hippolita is omitted, the goddess Juno appears in a machine, the peacocks spread their tails, then the scene changes to a Chinese garden, then a male and female Chinese sing, six monkies dance, and Oberon and Titania speak a sort of epilogue. In 1716, it was altered and played under the title of "A Comic Masque of Pyramus and Thisbe," by Richard Leveridge, who says, "I have made bold to dress out the original in recitative and airs after the present Italian mode."

* Pepys in his Diary thus expresses his opinion of this truly poetic play: "To the King's Theatre, where we saw 'Midsummer's Night's Dream,' which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life."—Vol. I., pp. 314-15.

In this year, a mock opera, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, the words taken from Shakspeare, was produced at Covent Garden Theatre, the music by J. F. Lampe. Another edition of this version was published in 1745. In 1755, this comedy was converted into an opera by David Garrick, and published under the title of "*The Fairies*;" the songs being derived from Shakspeare, Milton, Waller, Dryden, Lansdowne, Hammond and others. In 1755, a second edition of this version was published, and a third in 1756. In 1763, it was again altered by Garrick, and produced at Drury Lane Theatre on November 14th, under the title of "*A Fairy Tale*." This alteration was not a success, for it was only played one night. Among the omissions made by the adapter, nearly the whole of the mock play was cut out, and many other equally absurd alterations were indulged in. However great Garrick may have been as a mime, he most certainly was not possessed of the necessary poetic power to improve the works of the master he so frequently sought to do. It is said that Colman assisted Garrick in this adaptation, but such statement is not correct, he only superintended the rehearsals at Garrick's express desire. In 1771, it was re-printed under the title of "*The Fairy Queen*," a masque. Under the title of "*Pyramus and Thisbe*," a pantomime was played at Birmingham, in 1798. In 1816, it was altered and added to by F. Reynolds, and again altered by J. R. Planche in 1840.

LOVE'S LABOUR LOST, 13 *Editions*. In 1762, "*The Students*" was adapted for the stage from this comedy. Like most of those who sought to adapt Shakspeare, the adapter has left out too much of the original text and inserted too much of his own. In this alteration the incidents are changed as well as the language, for Biron

is made to put on Costard's coat—in this disguise he speaks part of what belongs to Costard, and is mistaken for him by several of the characters. The curate and schoolmaster are omitted, but one of the pedantic speeches belonging to the latter character is absurdly given to a player. This alteration was never acted.

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE, 50 *Editions*. In 1701, this Comedy was altered by George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, and played under the title of "The Jew of Venice," at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre. In the second act of this alteration, the characters of Lancelot Gobbo and old Gobbo are entirely omitted, and in the third act the part of Tubal is struck out. In act 2, the masque of Peleus and Thetis is introduced, and during the performance of the masque Shylock sups at a separate table and drinks a toast to his lady-love, Money. The other additions made by Granville are most contemptible, the meaning of Shakspeare being entirely misconstrued and misunderstood. The purpose of the author of this alteration seems to have been to exalt the character of Bassanio and to convert Shylock into a comic, instead of a tragic, character. Some of the lines he has inserted, and which are spoken by the Jew, are in a comic vein ; and in this version, the part of Shylock was personated by Doggett, the comedian. With becoming modesty, the ghost of Shakspeare, in the prologue, is made to say :—

" The first rude sketches Shakspeare's pencil drew,
But all the shining *master-strokes* are new.
This play, ye critics, shall your fury stand,
Adorn'd and rescued by a faultless hand ;
These scenes in their rough native dress were mine,
But now, *improv'd*, with noble lustre shine."

Four editions of this version were published : one in

1701, one in 1711, one in 1713, and one in 1732. In 1773 another version of this comedy was published, with alterations and insertions for acting; a second edition being published in 1777. In 1802, Dr. Valpy published his alteration, which was represented at Reading in the same year. In seeking to justify his course of action, the learned doctor appeals to the labour of those who had preceded him in the work of alteration and improvement—Dryden, Tate, Cibber and Garrick. Their efforts he held had been highly successful, inasmuch as their adaptations and alterations were applauded by the audiences who witnessed the representations, and he, therefore, deduces his right to follow their example, forgetting that the principle of seeking to improve Shakspeare had always been condemned by those critics who understood the grandeur, scope and aim of the Shakspearean drama. In 1849, was published at Oxford, "The Merchant of Venice, Travestie," a burlesque in one act, by the author of "Macbeth, Travestie." In 1862, the Members of the Swanwick Shakspeare circle published their version, under the title of "The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice," abbreviated and adapted for social reading. In 1876, an expurgated edition of this play was published. It was adapted for reading aloud and was edited by Mr. H. Cundell.

AS YOU LIKE IT, 25 *Editions*. In 1723, this Comedy was altered by C. Johnson, and produced at Drury Lane Theatre, on January 9th, under the title of "Love in a Forest." This is a most wretched alteration, the character of the comedy is much changed, and, as usual with the improvers of Shakspeare, the alteration is for the worse. The characters of Phoebe, Sylvius, the old

shepherd Corin, William, Audrey and the incomparable Touchstone, are omitted. The wrestling scene is changed into a passage of arms between various knights; Orlando is accused of treason, and the speeches of the scene between Bolingbroke and the Duke of Norfolk, from Richard II., are introduced. The lines of Rosalind are added to by the speech of Viola, from Twelfth Night, "she never told her love" being given to her. A part of Much Ado about Nothing is introduced into the third act, for Jacques borrows very freely the speeches of Benedick. The fifth act consists chiefly of a burlesque of Pyramus and Thisbe, and the would-be censor of mankind, the self-elected moralist, Jacques, is made to marry Celia, instead of going to see the Duke, who "hath put on a religious life." In 1739, it was again altered by a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was published under the title of "The Modern Receipt, or a Cure for Love." In 1809, an additional scene to this play was written by Mr. Mozer, and printed in The European Magazine. In 1810, it was altered and revised by J. P. Kemble. In 1824, this charming comedy was converted into an opera by the means of additional songs, glees and choruses, and was produced at Covent Garden Theatre on December 10th: Rosalind, Miss M. Tree; Celia, Miss Hammersley. In 1825, this version was produced at the Haymarket Theatre; Madame Vestris appearing as Rosalind, Vining as Orlando, and Dowton as Touchstone.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL, 11 *Editions*. In 1785, this Comedy was altered by Mr. Pilon and reduced to three acts. It was produced at the Haymarket Theatre on July 26th and repeated on the 28th. This version, however, was never printed. In 1793, it was

adapted by J. P. Kemble, and again revised by him in 1811; a second edition of this version being published in 1815.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW, 31 *Editions*. In 1698, this delightful Comedy was altered by J. Lacey, and published under the title of "Sawney the Scot, or the Taming of a Shrew." A second edition was published in 1714. The names of the characters are mostly changed in this version: Grumio is converted into a Scotch servingman, the induction is omitted, the dialogue is reduced to prose, and the fifth act is in a great measure new. Margaret, having returned to her father's house, determines to have another struggle for superiority—she scolds till she tires, then becomes sullen, and Petruchio proceeds to bury her alive, and then she submits to his rule. In 1716, it was altered into a farce by Charles Johnson, for the Drury Lane Company, and published as "The Cobbler of Preston." In the same year it was altered by Christopher Bullock, for the company at the New Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. This version was also published as "The Cobbler of Preston," a second edition appearing in 1755. In 1735, the comedy was converted into a ballad opera, by J. Worsdale, and published under the title of "A Cure for a Scold." In 1756, it was altered by David Garrick, and published as "Katharine and Petruchio." Of this alteration, the best that can be said for it, is, that it is a farce of the broadest character, amounting to extravagance, in which the language of Shakspeare is sadly pruned and diverted from its original meaning. In 1828, "The Taming of the Shrew" was converted into an opera, by Reynolds, and produced at Drury Lane Theatre, on May 24th. Despite the strength of the cast,

this version was not successful, for it was only acted four times.

THE WINTER'S TALE, 29 *Editions*. Six alterations of this play have been published. The first alteration was by Macnamara Morgan, under the title of "Florizell and Perdita, or the Sheep-shearing ;" of this alteration, two editions were published : one in 1754 and the other in 1767. This version only contained two acts, and the large additions which are made to the character of Antolycus are wretchedly inferior to the language of Shakspeare. This version was produced at Covent Garden Theatre on March 25th, 1754, and brought out again by Barry at the Dublin Theatre in 1755. In 1756, the second alteration was effected by Charles Marsh. In 1756, the third alteration was effected by David Garrick, under the title of "Florizell and Perdita, a dramatic pastoral," and was produced at Drury Lane Theatre, on January 21st. Two other editions of this alteration were published—one in 1762 and one in 1785. Garrick always professed a profound love and admiration for Shakspeare and he constantly expressed his desire to preserve every fragment of his works. This intention he also proclaimed in the prologue which he wrote for his version of *The Winter's Tale* :—

"Lest, then, this precious liquor run to waste,
'Tis now confined and bottled to your taste ;
'Tis my chief wish, my joy, my only plan,
To lose no drop of that immortal man."

How well he carried out his intention and fulfilled his desire, is evidenced in the fact that the first three acts of Shakspeare's play were entirely omitted by him. It opens with a room at the court of Bohemia, in which enters "Camillo and a Gentleman ;" Camillo informs

the latter of the events, supposed to have occurred before the opening of the play, such as the visit of Polixenes to Leontes, the latter's jealousy, the trial and imprisonment of Hermione, the birth of the child and its exposure, the defiance of Leontes and his subsequent years of remorse. The second scene is the "Country by the Seaside." The Shepherd enters and speaks Shakspeare's words,—and then enters his son, who describes a shipwreck he has witnessed,—then enters Leontes and Cleomines who have been wrecked. The chief part of the comic interest has been retained, but the remainder of the play is a mere mosaic, the last two acts of Shakspeare's text being worked in with a good deal of Garrick's rubbish. The quality of the language and the nature of the alterations made by Garrick are best shown by the following quotation from the dialogue, which demonstrates most effectively, how weak and puerile are Garrick's innovations :—

Cleom. Bear up, my liege ; again welcome on shore.

Leon. Flatter me not—in death distinctions cease.

Am I on shore ; walk I on land, from land,

Or ride I yet upon the billow's backs ?

Methinks I feel the motion. Who art thou ?

Cleom. Know you me not ?—your friend Cleomenes.

Leon. Where are my other friends ? What ! perished all ?

Cleom. Not a soul saved ! ourselves, are all the crew—

Pilot, shipmaster, boatswain, sailors all.

Leon. Laud we the gods ? Yet wherefore perished they,

Innocent souls, and I, will all my guilt

Live yet to load the earth. Oh, righteous gods,

Your ways are past the line of man to fathom.

Cleom. Waste not your small remaining strength of body

In warring with your mind. This desert waste

Has some inhabitants. Here's help at hand.

Good day, old man.

Old Shep. Never said in worse time—a better to both

Your worships. Command us, sir.

Clown. You have been sweetly soaked ; give the

Gods thanks that you are alive to feel it.

Leon. We are most thankful, sir.

Cleom. What deserts are these same ?

Old Shep. The deserts of Bohemia.

Leon. Sayest thou Bohemia ? Ye gods, Bohemia !

In every act your judgments are sent forth
Against Leontes ? Here to be wrecked and saved
Upon this coast ! All the wrongs I have done
Stir now afresh within me. Did I not
Upon this coast expose my harmless infant—
Bid Polixenes (falsely deemed the father)
To take this child. O hell-born jealousy,
All but myself most innocent—and now
Upon this coast ! Pardon Hermione.*

In 1760, the fourth alteration was effected by turning the comedy into an opera, and adding several new songs for Florizell and Perdita to suit the prevailing taste of the age. C. Colman effected the fifth alteration, his work being entitled "The Sheep-shearing," and was published in 1777. This alteration is not really based upon Shakspeare's *Winter's Tale*, but chiefly upon Garrick's miserable alteration of that play. In 1785, this play was altered and adapted to the stage by J. P. Kemble.

THE COMEDY OF ERRORS, 16 *Editions.* In 1716, an alteration of this Comedy was produced at the theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields, under the title of "Everybody's Mistakes." This production was never printed. In 1779, this comedy was altered and adapted by Thomas Hull ; the second edition of this alteration being

* That Garrick's detestable alterations met with some rebuke at the time they were produced, is shown in a dissertation delivered at the Haymarket Theatre in 1756 :—"Were Shakspeare's ghost to rise," says Cibber, "would he not frown indignation on this pilfering pedlar in poetry, who thus shamefully mangles, mutilates and emasculates his plays. The *Midsummer's Night's Dream* has been minced and fricaseed into a thing called the *Fairies*—the *Winter's Tale* mammoxed into a droll—and the *Tempest* castrated into an opera, yet this sly prince would insinuate all this ill-usage of the bard is owing, forsooth, to his love of him—much such a mock proof of his tender regard as the cobbler's drubbing his wife. No wonder Shakspeare's name is insulted by foreigners, while he is tamely suffered to be thus maltreated at home."

published in 1793. This comedy was also altered and reduced by W. Woods to three acts. This alteration, without improvement, was called "The Twins," and three editions of the same were published,—one in 1780, one in 1786, and the third possesses no date. In 1780, an alteration by John Philip Kemble was produced at York, under the title of "Its Impossible." In this version Kemble converted the two Dromios into two black servants, contriving not only to puzzle the audience but also the actors. Other foolish alterations were made to the disadvantage of the comedy. This version was never printed. In 1811, Hull's adaptation underwent a revision by J. P. Kemble, and a second edition was published in 1815. In 1820, this comedy was turned into an opera by Reynolds, the dramatist, who added several scenes, none of which were any improvement. To the printed copy of this literary murder Reynolds did not put his name, though in his life he acknowledges the fact.

HISTORIES.

KING JOHN, 37 *Editions*. This history was first produced in 1596, and was first published in 1623. Two editions of a play "The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England," were published in 1611 and 1622, bearing the initials of "W. S.," but this play was not written by Shakspeare. In 1744, Shakspeare's play was altered by Colley Cibber and produced under the title of "Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John." This alteration by Cibber is a very bad one, for he has completely spoilt the characters of Falconbridge and Constance, and so changed the language that the intent and meaning of the play are entirely destroyed. Cibber modestly says in his dedication to Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, "I have endeavoured to make it more like a play than what I found it in Shakespear, and if your Lordship should find it so, my ambition has no further views." In 1750, this history underwent another alteration, a new set of choruses were added after the manner of the ancients, to be sung at the end of each act. In 1800, it was altered by Dr. Valpy, and a second edition of his alteration was published in 1803, and on May 20th of the same year, this version was produced at Covent Garden Theatre, but it did prove successful. It was originally done to be acted by the boys of his own school. This alteration does not redound to the credit of the learned doctor; for he omits the first act of Shakspeare,

introduces some lines from Papal Tyranny, spoils the character of Falconbridge, and commits other follies unbecoming a Shakspearean editor, who professes to hold a high admiration of the genius of the poet, combined with a strong love of his productions; his alteration is but a mosaic that clearly displays a want of comprehension, a lack of understanding the high qualities, the patriotism and truthfulness of characterisation which Shakspeare evinces in this history. In 1800, it was also altered and revised by J. P. Kemble; two other editions of his alteration being published: one in 1804, and one in 1814. In 1837, a burlesque under the title of "King John with the benefit of the Act," was written by Gilbert A'Becket.

RICHARD II., 30 *Editions*. In 1681, Nahum Tate altered this play, and produced it under the title of "The Sicilian Usurper," a second edition of which was published in 1691. This alteration of Tate's only serves to disfigure the text of Shakspeare, and to display the weakness of Tate, whose additions to the text are of the most insipid character. Tate has introduced more low comedy into his version, and he also changes the character of the Duke of York, giving him a comic vein, making him a mountain of flesh, so that, to use his own words, "he can scarce carry his own fat." In this alteration, Tate's modesty is of so pure a nature, that he fails not to boast that he has heightened the character and added to the strength of the frivolous Richard, whose harsh measures he seeks to palliate. The sympathy which is felt for Shakspeare's Richard—which is also the Richard of English history—is lost to a very great extent in Tate's arrangement, who, in his anxiety to display his intense respect for royalty, has destroyed

the human interest evoked by the misfortunes of the unfortunate monarch, who—

“ every day under his household roof
Did keep ten thousand men.”

Although Tate had changed the names of his characters, altered the language and also changed the time and locality of the events, the play was suppressed after two representations, much to his disappointment. In 1720, it was altered by Theobald. This alteration is a very bad one. The first and second acts of the original play are altogether omitted, while many absurdities are introduced. Aumerle is made to be in love with Lady Percy, and this attachment leads to the discovery of the conspiracy against Bolingbroke; for Aumerle, in pulling out his handkerchief, also pulls out a parchment containing the object and names of the conspirators; this is found by Northumberland, who gives it to Bolingbroke. In the termination of this version, Theobald has made some change. Richard is struck down by Exton, but he does not die until the entrance of Northumberland and Bolingbroke, the latter of whom asks—

Bol. “ What noise of tumult did invade our ears ?
Ha ! Richard ! how came this ?

King. Question it not ;
Content, that all thy fears with me lie buried :
Unrivall'd wear the crown. O Isabella.” *[dies.*

Screams are heard, then Ross enters, stating that Lady Percy, hearing of the death of Aumerle, had drawn from her side a secret dagger and plunged it in her breast; then York enters, and finding Richard dead, he commits suicide, and Bolingbroke finishes the piece. Even in the parts which are retained, Theobald has sought to improve the poet's text by additions of his own, but, like all other improvers of Shakspeare, he has

only proved his own weakness and folly. In 1772, it was altered and the style imitated by Goodhall; and in 1815, it was published with alterations and additions, by R. Wroughton. This version is a very poor one, it is guilty of much omission and the additions are not in the best taste. The Queen is introduced in the last scene and speaks some lines from the tragedy of Lear. On March 14, 1857, Richard II. was produced at the Princess Theatre, by Mr. Charles Kean. There are scarcely any changes of the text in this version, though there are many omissions. Several scenes are struck out, and this was rendered necessary by the manner in which the play was put upon the stage. Mr. Kean evidently intended to appeal to the eyes as well as the ears of his audiences, the play being most elaborately mounted, and the spectacular part nearly overwhelming the action and language of the poet. A very extensive and elaborate episode, an interpolation of Mr. Kean's, was produced, representing a royal visit to the City in the 14th century. This was very cleverly got up, and the effect was marvellous. The incidents were numerous, and the costumes historically correct; so much so that not only was the past most faithfully recalled, but also the sensations belonging to it. Of this version several editions were published.

HENRY IV., Part 1., 29 *Editions*. In 1700, it was altered and played by Thomas Betterton at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, as "Henry the Fourth with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff," and was first published in the same year. Most of the alterations consist of transpositions and omissions, among the latter, the character of Lady Mortimer, is struck out. In 1710, it was altered again by the Hon. Mr. Greville; a second

edition of whose work was published in 1721. On April 30th, 1762, this history was played at Drury Lane Theatre, the part of Hotspur being omitted from the representation. In 1810, it was revised by J. P. Kemble, of whose revision two other editions were published, one in 1811 and one in 1815.

HENRY IV., Part II., 27 *Editions*. In 1700, this History was revised and added to by Thomas Betterton, who produced his alteration at Drury Lane Theatre, under the title of "The Sequel to Henry IV., with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff and Justice Shallow." In this version Betterton has omitted much of Shakspeare's language, committed many alterations and perpetrated several transpositions of scenes. The characters of Lady Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, Lady Northumberland and others are entirely left out. In act 1, the first scene is omitted; so also is the first scene in act 2. In act 3, scenes 1, 2 and 3 of act 4 are blended together, the speeches being much contracted, and they form a conclusion to Betterton's third act. Act 4, commences with part of the first scene of act 3, containing the king's soliloquy on sleep and then changes to scenes 4 and 5 of act 4, which are interwoven with each other, though shorn of their fair proportions. Then follows scene 3 from act 5, and this act terminates with scene 2 of act 5. Act 5, opens with scene 5 of the original play, and the remainder of the act is composed of scenes 1 and 2 from act 1 of Henry V., and of scene 2 of act 2 from the same play. Two editions of this alteration were published,—one in 1710 and the other in 1719. In 1760, William Kenrick produced a sequel to this history, under the title of "Falstaff's Wedding, a Comedy, written in imitation of Shakspeare," and it is the only

instance in our literature of any attempt to continue a Shakspearean play, or part of one. The non-success of preceding imitators of Shakspeare did not act as a deterrent to the learned Kenrick, who, wrapt up within himself, fondly imagined that he would succeed where others had failed; forgetting that the characterisation, force and sweetness of language which marks the works of Shakspeare, were wholly wanting in his own production, and, therefore, the elements of success were wanting in his play. In 1761, a new version of this history was produced on December 10th, at Covent Garden Theatre, and was played for twenty-two nights. From this version the characters of Silence and Justice Shallow were omitted. In 1766, Kenrick's sequel was played at Drury Lane Theatre, and it met with no success. Two other editions of this comedy were published,—one in 1766 and one in 1773. In 1801, it was altered by Dr. Valpy, and in 1803, it was altered and revised by J. P. Kemble; two other editions being published,—one in 1814 and one in 1815. In 1821, this history was revived at Covent Garden Theatre on June 25th, and it ran twenty-seven nights. Four additional scenes were introduced, so that the coronation pageant could be displayed. Scene 1, was the platform leading to the Abbey; scene 2, Westminster Abbey; scene 3, the cloisters of the Abbey and the return from Westminster Hall; scene 4, the grand banquet in Westminster Hall, with the champion. Thus was sense and poetry sacrificed to show and sound, and character made to yield to spectacular display. In 1829, was published "The Life and Humours of Falstaff; a Comedy formed out of the two parts of Shakspeare's Henry the Fourth, and a few scenes of Henry V." In 1869, Mark Lemon adapted his entertainment, "The

Story of Falstaff," from parts 1 and 2 of King Henry IV. In this adaption, the story of the fat knight is most consistently told, for it comprises "Falstaff, his fun and folly, his amours, his breaches of the law, his robberies, his soldiering, his lies, his guzzling, and finally his downfall, his humiliation, his punishment." The text of Shakspeare is but little tampered with, except by excision in this adaptation, which was published in 1871.

HENRY VTH., 26 *Editions*. In 1664, Lord Orrery's Henry V. was produced at the theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on August 13th, and first published in 1668. This play bears no resemblance to Shakspeare's, except in the historical part thereof. There is one scene in which his lordship seems to have the elder dramatist in mind, and that is the scene in which the Salic Law is debated by the French and English lords. In 1720, a farce called "The Half-pay Officers," was produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre. It is chiefly based upon the comic parts of this history, the author acknowledging his obligations to Shakspeare and Davenant. In 1723, it was altered by Aaron Hill, and produced at Drury Lane Theatre on December 5th, under the title of "Henry V., or the Conquest of France by the English," with sets of scenes new to the play. In this alteration the whole of the comic parts are omitted—no Pistol, Bardolph, Fluellen appear; and the charming scene between the king and the soldiers is also struck out. The arrangements of the acts are altogether different, act 1 commencing with the first scene of the third act of Shakspeare's play, then it goes back to the second scene of act 1, and this going backwards and forwards continues throughout. The speeches are also transposed from one character to another, and to add to its strength, an entirely new

character is introduced, Harriet, the niece of Lord Scoop, whom the king is said to have seduced and deserted. This play was only acted six times. A second edition of this alteration was published in 1760. In 1789, it was altered by curtailment by J. P. Kemble, who in 1801 revised his previous alteration. Two other editions of this second revision were published,—one in 1806 and one in 1815.

HENRY VI., Part I., 7 *Editions*. In 1681, this history was altered and improved (?) by John Crowne, and was acted at the Dorset Garden Theatre. Though published under the title of "Henry VI., part 1., with the Murder of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester," it is mainly composed of the first three acts of Shakspeare's Henry VI., part 2, and it closes with the death of the Duke of Suffolk, and the breaking out of the rebellion of Jack Cade. The dying scene of Cardinal Beaufort is used and entirely spoilt by the weak inane additions of Crowne, who introduces the ghost of Gloucester to Beaufort, causing him to go off in a swoon. The play thus altered, bad as it is, is a much better one than most of those written at the time, owing to Crowne having left in more than a usual quantity of the original language in his version.

HENRY VI., Part II., 5 *Editions*. In 1680, this history was altered by John Crowne, and in 1681, it was produced at the Dorset Garden Theatre, under the title of "Henry VI., part 2, or the Miserie of the Civil War." This alteration is a good deal worse than the former one, for the author does not forget to start with a falsehood, for he says in his prologue, that—

"The divine Shakspeare did not lay one stone ;"

and yet his production is but a combination of Shakspeare's Henry VI., parts 2 and 3, with some additions and many alterations. It opens with the scenes relative to Jack Cade, who is killed by Clifford instead of Iden. The second act begins with the battle of St. Albans, and closes with the agreement between King Henry and York. The third act lies at Sandal Castle, and is very badly altered. In the fourth act Clifford dies—Lady Grey is married to King Edward, who is afterwards taken prisoner by Warwick. In the fifth act we have the battle of Barnet; the death of Warwick; Margaret and her son prisoners; the ghost of Richard II. and a good spirit appears to King Henry, who is killed by Richard Plantaganet; and King Edward concludes the play. Crowne makes his Clifford fond of emphatic expressions, for he puts into his mouth "Damn your unlucky planets;" "Oh! damn all this—come, let's to battle;" and, when dying, he makes Clifford recover enough to say, "Damnation on you all." In 1723, Ambrose Phillips produced a play called "Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester," which was acted at Drury Lane Theatre on February 15th. This play is founded on Shakspeare's Henry VI., and though Phillips has not borrowed a considerable number of lines from the poet's play, he has made some singular alterations. To the Duchess of Gloucester he has absurdly given several speeches from Henry VI. Many of the lines of the play are but poor imitations, deficient in strength, warmth and sweetness, and distinguished by their coldness and frigidity. In the death scene of Cardinal Beaufort, Phillips has fallen into the same error that befell the adaptor Crowne, not only has he weakened it, but he has in reality completely spoilt it.

HENRY VI., Part III., 10 *Editions*. In 1720, Theophilus Cibber altered this history, but the alteration was not published till 1723, a second edition being published in 1724. It was called "An Historical Tragedy of the Civil Wars in the reign of King Henry VI., being a Sequel to the Tragedy of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester." This alteration is not to the advantage of the play, for it is based upon that of Crowne's, and the chief advantage it possesses over that alteration, is that it retains more of the original text. Many of the incidents are changed, and the additions made by Cibber, are distinguishable by their weakness and not by their strength. In 1795, Dr. Valpy published his historic tragedy of "The Roses; or King Henry VI." This play is principally compiled from Shakspeare's history, and a second edition was published in 1810. In 1817, Edmund Kean produced at Drury Lane Theatre, "Richard, Duke of York," altered from Shakspeare's Henry VI. In 1830 a second edition of this alteration was published.

RICHARD III.,* 50 *Editions*. This history was written by Shakspeare, not in his earliest days, but in the early part of his manhood in the fulness of his strength, for its versification is one grand sonorous march, while its characterisation is remarkable for its strength, depth and subtlety. Richard was the grand central figure of the Wars of the Two Roses; for in him

*The life and reign of Richard III. was a very popular subject with English dramatists. In 1583, Dr. Legge's "Richardus Tertius," was acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, and in 1594 "The True Tragedie of Richard," was produced. A "Richard Crookbaek," by Ben Jonson and another dramatist was produced in 1602. "The English Princess, or the Death of Richard III.," by Caryl, was produced at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, on March 7th, 1667. This play is not an adaptation of Shakspeare, nor does the author borrow anything from Shakspeare. Caryl's play is materially wanting in the elements of greatness and truly exhibits its own weakness when compared with Shakspeare. Cibber in his version of Richard III., does not fail to borrow from Caryl.

culminated all the craft, hypocrisy, audacity and intellectuality of the Yorkist party, and his death on Bosworth Field was the close of a great struggle; a struggle, not of an ordinary character, in which society had been intensely interested, and whose interest in that remarkable phase of our national affairs, had not ceased, even at the period when the play was written. Shakspeare, who is always true to history, and to the poetic solution and development of the law of humanity, fails not to draw the character of Richard as it should be drawn, and, therefore, the tinkering of petty adapters serves not only to mar, but to destroy the beauty, sublimity and completeness of the history as conceived and rendered by Shakspeare. This work written in the pride of his intellectual powers has undergone most fearful mutilation by several adapters, foremost among whom may be mentioned Colley Cibber,* whose version, produced at Drury Lane Theatre in 1700, still keeps the stage. In the Cibberian version there is not much more than five hundred lines of the original play introduced, whole scenes being taken from the other histories of Shakspeare, and lines and speeches clipt and shorn of their fair proportions in accordance with the truer taste and the higher and fuller knowledge of the dramatic art, which this despicable adapter, imagined he possessed over the incomparable master. Cibber's garbled version is still adopted by country managers

* Cibber chose to play the part of Richard on the production of the history, and his performance was thus described by a contemporary:—he "screamed through four acts without dignity or decency: the audience ill-pleased with the farce, accompanied him with a smile of contempt; but in the fifth act, he degenerated all at once into Sir Novelty; and when in the heat of the battle of Bosworth Field, the king is dismounted, our comic-tragedian came on the stage, really breathless, and in a seeming panic, screaming out this line thus—*A Horse, a Horse; my kingdom for a Horse*—this highly delighted some and disgusted others of his auditors; and when he was killed by Richmond, one might plainly perceive that the good people were not better pleased that so execrable a tyrant was destroyed, than that so execrable an actor was silent."—Quoted in *Genest's History of the Stage*, vol. 2, p. 218.

and starring actors, and by them submitted to the dramatic public as Shakspeare's Richard III. Not less than twenty-one editions of this bastard version have been published. In 1815, an adaptation by James Wroughton, was published. In 1820, a Mr. Bridgman tried his hand at altering this history for the stage; and in 1821, Mr. W. Macready, made the first attempt to introduced the play somewhat nearer to the original text than had hitherto been done since the year 1700. The production of this version proceeded from a strong desire on the part of the great actor, to restore the original character and language of Shakspeare, and in direct opposition to the version of Colley Cibber, which the bulk of the play-going public had applauded as the true Shakspearean drama. None of the extraneous matter was contained in this version, but many omissions had to be made to adapt it to representation. It was, however, very faulty in its construction, and the revival was much mismanaged. It was played at Covent Garden Theatre on March 12th, and it was not successful, although Mr. Macready was much praised in Gloster and Mr. Egerton was much applauded as Clarence. On the 19th of the same month it was again played, and then it was consigned to the tomb of the Capulets, for it was played no more. On February 26th, 1844, a burlesque of this history was produced at the Strand Theatre. It was in one act and written by Mr. Charles Selby, comedian. In March, 1845, Richard III., was produced at the Sadler Wells Theatre, by Mr. S. Phelps. This was the play as wrote by Shakspeare, and not the ordinary compilation of Colley Cibber which passes current for the true piece. In the poet's own play the character of Richard is essentially different to the Richard of Cibber's clap-trap rifacimento, for in the

latter the higher qualities of character are sacrificed to rapid action, The Shakspearean drama moves beneath a weight of thought and circumstance requiring much care and attention, and this phase is entirely lost in Cibber's version, for he inserts the murder of Henry VI. in the Tower, forgetting, or not perceiving that the necessity for such murder had passed away from the brain of Gloster at the opening of the play. Richard has now become powerful, and he delegates to others the performance of deeds which he deems necessary to his purpose and his safety. Not by physical acts of his own, but by the power of his intellect he henceforth rules, for to his mental power everything must yield. The intellectual superiority which Richard possesses and feels he does possess, causes him to indulge in displays of humour, spleen and sarcasm, and to sport with the minds of others as well as his own. In the melodramatic hash of Cibber, the chief feature of the principal character—his intellectual superiority—is submerged, while the language is terribly marred and mutilated. In Shakspeare's play the language and thought are in unison with each other, and the true height of poetry and passion is constantly sustained. This production by Mr. Phelps was most successful, for it ran a great number of nights. This revolution in managerial taste—and no less a word describes it—won general praise; and it was not undeservedly said, that the revival was a histrionic triumph to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in modern times. In 1870, Mr. C. Calvert produced this history according to the text of Shakspeare in the autumn of the year, at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester. This revival was highly successful, running not less than sixty-nine nights. On January 29th, 1877, Richard III. was produced at the

Lyceum Theatre, by Mr. J. H. Irving, who with praiseworthy admiration of the great master's works, placed Shakspeare's play, not the Cibberian compilation, upon the Lyceum stage. In the intellectual phase of Richard's character, his sarcasm and his grim humour, are said to have been well personated by Mr. Irving.

HENRY VIII., 26 *Editions*. In 1753, a version of this history was produced, in which some alterations were effected in the language and some omissions were indulged in. This version was again produced at Covent Garden Theatre on November 6th, 1773. In 1758, Joseph Grove published this history under the title of "The Life of Henry VIII., by Mr. William Shakspeare, in which are interspersed Historical Notes, Moral Reflections and Observations, in respect to the unhappy fate Cardinal Wolsey met with." In 1805, it was revised and altered by J. P. Kemble, a second edition of his revision being published in 1815. In this version of Kemble's, there are many inaccuracies of the text, and much of Shakspeare's language is omitted. The scene between the Queen and the two Cardinals which begins the third act is left out, and in the third scene of the first act some lines are introduced which cannot be found in the original text. Kemble's alteration cannot be looked upon as any improvement upon the version of 1753, inasmuch as he omits more of the original text and indulges in more alterations, transposing speeches from one character to another, thus destroying the characterization of the poet and at the same time demonstrating his own folly and weakness, in seeking to improve the productions of an author whom he so frequently misinterpreted and misunderstood. His various revised versions furnish the fullest evidence of

the fact. Lines, like the following, do not possess the true Shakspearean ring, and though added by the revisor they do not add to the strength of the play :—

Lord Chamberlain. Your lordship shall along,

Lord Sands. Ay, ay ; if the beauties are there,

I must make one among them, to be sure.

The first act is concluded by a speech of the king addressed to the masquers and the great cardinal, and the sense and force are completely destroyed by Kemble's alteration, which runs as follows :—

“ You must give us leave,
To keep these ladies from their rest, awhile.
I have another measure yet to lead 'em,
Which, being ended, they shall all go sleep.
Then this, which does a happy vision teem,
May be again repeated in a dream.”



TRAGEDIES.

MACBETH, 51 *Editions*. January 7th, 1666-7, good gossip Pepy's thus writes: "To the Duke's House, and saw "Macbeth;" which though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here and suitable." * In 1672 Sir Wm. Davenant so altered, amended and added to this tragedy, that he succeeded in converting it into an opera, which he produced at the Duke's Theatre, and it met with very great success. Five editions of this version, containing all the additions and so-called improvements, were published: one in 1673, two in 1674,† one in 1695,

* Diary, Vol. III., p. 120.

† Thomas Duffet, who was "a milliner in the new Exchange" and author of "The Mock Tempest," also wrote a burlesque called "The Empress of Morocco," in ridicule of Elkanah Settle's tragedy of "The Emperor of Morocco." The piece is somewhat coarse, was published in 1674, and in its curious epilogue, Duffet alludes to the manner in which the tragedy of Macbeth had been produced. "A new fancy, after the old and most surprising way of Macbeth, performed with new and costly *machines*, which were invented and managed by the most ingenious operator, Mr. Henry Wright, P. G. 2." It was evidently a travesty, for Hecate and three witches pursue their course "according to the famous mode of Macbeth, commence the most renowned and melodious song of John Dory being heard as it were in the air, sung in parts by spirits, to raise the expectation, and charm the audience with thoughts sublime, and worthy of the heroick scene which follows." This particular scene commences after those of Macbeth, for "thunder and lightning" is discovered. Three witches fly over the pit riding upon besoms. Then Hecate descends over the stage "in a glorious chariot adorned with pictures of hell and devils, and made of a large wicker basket" Thee is also an allusion to the house in which Macbeth was originally produced, for Hecate says,—"Bank-side maulkin thrice has mew'd."

and one in 1710. In this improved version, Davenant has omitted many of the finest speeches, and introduced a considerable quantity of mere rubbish. The great fault which pervades this version, is the wanton and unnecessary changes which are made in the text, for there is scarcely ten successive lines to be found, which Davenant has not so mutilated, that in most instances he has destroyed the grandeur and meaning of the original text. The judgment of Steevens upon this alteration, though severe, is truly just, for there cannot be much doubt that "almost every original beauty is either awkwardly disguised, or arbitrarily omitted" by Davenant. The speeches of Rosse are given to other characters,—the part of Seyton is considerably enlarged, so is that of Macduff and also his wife, who, when Lady Macbeth enters for the first time, enters with her. In the scene preceding the murder, the solemnity of the occasion is destroyed by the alteration Davenant has made in the couplet which is spoken by Macbeth when he quits the stage to do the deed without a name:—

"Hear it not Duncan, it is a bell,
That rings my coronation and thy knell."

Malcolm and Macduff meet at "Birnam Wood" instead of in "gracious England," and the ghost of Duncan haunts Lady Macbeth, so working upon her fears that she tries to persuade her husband to resign the crown. The murder of Macduff's "wife and babies" is related by Lennox instead of Rosse, Lady Macbeth's two last speeches are omitted, and the scene with the doctor and Macbeth is fearfully mangled. In the incantation scene in the fourth act, a dance of furies is introduced to add to its attractions. Lennox, instead of young Siward, fights with Macbeth and is killed, but before dying he most politely apologises to his "poor country" for

doing so. In the fifth act, Davenant has added a good deal of his own, though he only gives Macbeth one line, as a dying speech. In 1731, it was altered by Mr. Tate and published in Edinburgh, and in 1750, the tragedy was published with all the original songs; this version running through two more editions,—one in 1755, and one in 1768. In 1748, Garrick produced this tragedy, pretending to omit the rubbish which had been added by Davenant. This he did not wholly do; the main portions of the additions he left out, and then, to show how thoroughly he understood Shakspeare, he added a contemptible dying speech to the part of Macbeth. This was an opportunity, that this truly poetic adaptor could not let slip by of showing his skill in the expression of convulsive throes and dying agonies, however, unsuited such acting might be to the occasion, or to the intent of the author. In 1753, a Mr. Lee newly adapted it for the stage at Edinburgh, and in 1773, another edition of this version was published by Jenner. In 1794, it was adapted and revised by J. P. Kemble, two other editions of his revised version being published, one in 1803 and one in 1814. During the time the Royal Circus, in St. George's Fields, afterwards the Surrey Theatre, was under the management of Mr. Elliston, he produced a version of Macbeth in verse on September 23rd, 1809. The alteration is said to have been executed by Mr. J. C. Cross, who had written numerous dramatic pieces for the same house. There were several new scenes introduced, and the murder of Duncan was perpetrated in a bedchamber in the presence of the audience. The fulness of comprehension and thorough acquaintance of Mr. Cross with the Shakspearean drama is evidenced in his rendering of the scene containing the famous soliloquy :—

“Is this a dagger that I see before me?
My brains are scattered in a whirlwind stormy.”

To avoid the law then existing relative to the production of the legitimate drama, the house being a minor one, a *ballet d'action* was also served up, and the whole was preceded by a grand *entree*, composed in rhyme by Dr. Busby, in which all manner of good things were mixed together. The conclusion of the address refers to the position the manager was placed in, owing to the monopoly possessed by the two great houses.

“To prove we keep our duties full in view,
And what we must not *say*, resolve to *do*;
Convinc'd that you will deem our zeal sincere,
Since more by *deeds* than *words* it will appear.”

In 1847, on June 17th, “Macbeth Travestie,” a burlesque, was produced and played on the day of the regatta at Henley. It was written and published at Oxford, in 1847, and three other editions were published,—one in 1848, one in 1849, and one in London in 1853. It was afterwards produced at the Strand Theatre, January 10th, 1848, and reproduced with many alterations and additions at the Olympic Theatre, April 25th, 1853. In 1849, a phonetic edition of this tragedy was published. In 1853, an edition, edited by Mr. Hastings Elwin, was printed and published at Norwich. The avowed object and intent of this edition being an attempt to restore the original text. In 1856, this tragedy was altered, adapted and produced as a grand equestrian spectacle at Astley's Amphitheatre. In 1868, an edition was arranged for reading by Mr. Rayne. In 1877, an edition of Macbeth, according to the first folio was published. The object of its editor, Mr. A. P. Paton, being to preserve Shakspeare's use of capital letters, for they constitute “the key to the way in which he read his own works, and in which they

ought to be read by others." The spelling is modernised, and the edition is called the "Hamnet." In 1878, Mr. Paton published Hamlet; and in 1879, Cymbeline and Timon of Athens were also published.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, 14 *Editions*. In 1679, this Tragedy was altered by John Dryden, and produced at the Dorset Garden Theatre, under the title of "Troilus and Cressida, a Truth proved too late." Two other editions of this version were published,—one in 1695 and one in 1735. Dryden, in the preface to his version of the tragedy, says, "The original story was written by Lollius, a Lombard, in Latin verse and translated by Chaucer into English. Shakspeare, in the apprenticeship of his writing, modelled it into that play which is now called by the name of Troilus and Cressida. "I," says Dryden, "new modelled the plot, threw out many unnecessary persons, improved those characters which were begun and left unfinished,—as Hector, Troilus, Pandarus and Thersites, and adding to that of Andromache." This is remarkably cool and modest on the part of Dryden, and it is only excelled by Langbaine's opinion of Dryden's version, that "the last scene in the third act is a master-piece."

Act 1 opens with the Grecian camp, being the 3rd scene of Shakspeare's tragedy. This scene is greatly shortened, but the language is chiefly Shakspeare's. Scene 1 and 2 then follow without any very material changes.

Act 2 opens with another revision, Priam, Hector and others are discovered, and this scene is materially altered. In the ensuing scenes between Pandarus and Cressida and Pandarus and Troilus, not more than twenty lines belong to Shakspeare. The first part of the

scene between Ulysses and Nestor is from Shakspeare, and the remainder belongs to Dryden.

Act 3. The alterations are very slight until the concluding scene between Hector and Troilus, which is wholly Dryden's.

Act 4. The arrangement of this act is altogether different, for Dryden, to please the ladies, represents Cressida as true to Troilus. Most of the language in this act is the production of Dryden.

Act 5. This is chiefly distinguished by the absence of the language of Shakspeare, and the change in the termination of the tragedy. Andromache prevails on Hector not to go forth to fight, but Troilus carries him off to battle. Troilus strikes down Diomed, whom Cressida tries to save—this makes Troilus jealous; then Cressida, to prove her constancy, kills herself; Troilus kills Diomed, and Achilles kills Troilus.

The part of the fierce prophetess, the wild Cassandra, is entirely omitted by Dryden, who in the plenitude and superiority of his poetic powers (?) has materially weakened the character of "the hope of Troy," the warlike Hector.

TIMON OF ATHENS, 14 *Editions*. In 1678, Thomas Shadwell altered this Tragedy, and thought so highly of his production, that in the dedication to George, Duke of Buckingham, he *modestly* observes, that "this play was originally Shakspeare's, who never made," says he, "more masterly strokes than in this; yet I can truly say, I have made it into a play." Shadwell so well understood Shakspeare, that he spoils the character of Flavius, by making him desert his master, and he also introduces some love passages between Timon, Evandra and Melissa, two female characters new to the tragedy.

Timon professes a regard for Evandra, but loves Melissa so much, that he cannot live without her. Melissa forsakes Timon in the hour of his adversity, while Evandra remains faithful and endeavours to console Timon. In the fifth act Timon and Evandra enter the cave,—the former dies and the latter kills herself. The play terminates with a speech by Alcibiades lamenting their death. The incidents are thus considerably varied, while the alterations effected in the language are in the highest degree detrimental to the tragedy. The character of Flavius, the steward of Timon, is entirely reversed by Shadwell, who so thoroughly comprehends the intent of Shakspeare, that he makes him unfaithful to his master and thus one of the great charms of the tragedy is destroyed. This alteration when produced at Dorset Garden Theatre did not, however, succeed, for its non-success is evidently alluded to in the prologue to the Jew of Venice :

“ How was the scene forlorn, and how despis’d,
When Timon, without music, moraliz’d ?
Shakspeare’s sublime in vain entic’d the throng,
Without the charm of Purcell’s syren song.”

Some years afterwards this altered version was revived, and it met with much success, remaining on the acting list for many years. Three other editions of Shadwell’s version were published : one in 1688, one in 1703, and the other without any date. The notions that prevailed at this period of the purpose, nature and construction of plays, seem to have been very peculiar ones. They were evidently derived from some French definition, and they appear to have held sway for some years. Shakspeare was held to be a wild untutored genius, given to irregularities, and his dramas were looked upon as nondescript productions, which required

the services of such skilful playwrights as Shadwell and others to lick into shape. In 1768, James Love published an alteration of this tragedy, based upon Shakspeare and Shadwell. This version is a better one than that of Shadwell's, for Love has not indulged in so much alteration of the scenes and the language of Shakspeare as Shadwell did. He is guilty of many omissions of Shakspeare's text, but he most decidedly improves the language of Shadwell, and had he only left out the lines written by that improver and inserted more of Shakspeare, he would have considerably improved his version. In the same year the tragedy was altered and revised by Dance. In 1771, it was altered by Richard Cumberland and produced at Drury Lane Theatre, on December 4th. In this alteration, Cumberland changes, clips and contorts many of the sentences, omits several of the scenes and adds considerably to the language of the tragedy, for the last act, with the exception of about two pages, being entirely written by him. This alteration, like that of Shadwell's, is marked by the same fault, viz., the leaving out the language and scenes of Shakspeare, and the result accomplished is the spoilation of the qualities of the play. In 1786, a new alteration of Shakspeare and Shadwell was produced by Mr. Hull, and played at Covent Garden Theatre. In 1816, the tragedy was again altered and adapted for representation by the Hon. G. Lamb.

CORIOLANUS, 24 *Editions*. In 1682, Nahum Tate altered this Tragedy and produced it at the Theatre Royal, under the title of "The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, or the Fall of Caius Marius." This alteration is composed of omissions, changes of incidents and language, and of many additions, so that the beauty of

the original play is entirely marred. The action of the tragedy is much altered, and tasteless insipidity displaces the splendid language of Shakspeare. New characters are also introduced, among whom occurs Nigridius, a villain discharged by Coriolanus, and who enters the service of Aufidius, becoming one of the chief instruments in producing the results of the tragedy. The fifth act is mainly composed of Tate's additions. Volumnia, Valeria and others enter at Rome,—Volumnia, hearing that Nigridius has formed a plot against the life of her son, sets off for Corioles with Virgilia and young Martius. Aufidius and Nigridius enter—then follows the scene with Coriolanus and the Volscians—this is partly from Shakspeare. Coriolanus fights with Aufidius and his party—they are both mortally wounded—Aufidius threatens to ravish Virgilia in her husband's presence—she is brought in wounded—Aufidius and Virgilia die—Nigridius boasts that he has racked young Martius—Coriolanus asks :—

“ Well, Cerberus, how then did'st thou dispose him ?
Did'st eat him ?

Nigridius answers, that he threw him with his limbs all broken, though still alive, into the arms of Volumnia, who then enters mad with young Martius—she kills Nigridius and runs off—Martius dies, and Coriolanus concludes the play with a dying speech. The characters of Valeria and Volumnia are entirely changed, the former being quite a lack-a-daisical part, and the language given to the latter in her mad scene is utterly contemptible. In 1719, it was altered by John Dennis, and produced at Drury Lane Theatre, as “ The Invader of his Country, or the Fatal Resentment.” A second edition of this version was published in 1721. About

half the original play has been retained, in which Dennis has made many alterations in the lines; the remainder of the play is made up of his additions, which are of the feeblest character. Dennis has also introduced much more low comedy in his version than the original tragedy contains, though he has left out the humorous speeches of Menenius. Each act is terribly mutilated, the scenes being changed and the beauty of the language spoilt by the alterations. The 3rd act concludes with a parting scene between Coriolanus and Virgilia:

Cor.

"Adieu!

In quest of great revenge thy *lover* flies.

Virg. Support me, virgins, for Virgilia dies."

Act 4 commences with Coriolanus at Antium, the three first scenes being omitted and much low comedy is introduced. Aufidius and the Volscians are discovered, and Coriolanus is brought in. The act finishes with the citizens in Rome driving off their Tribunes with the intention of hurling them from the Tarpeian rock.

Act 5 commences with Aufidius and his officers—then Coriolanus, Volumnia and other ladies enter—Aufidius goes out—Volumnia threatens to kill herself, but does not; Aufidius re-enters, fights with Coriolanus and gets slain; the Volscians rush on and kill Coriolanus, and Cominius finishes the piece.

This alteration by Dennis is one among the worst ever perpetrated, for though a professed critic in matters dramatic, the result of his labours in this particular instance fully demonstrates his non-understanding of the poet's intent and power of characterisation, and his non-efficiency for the position he had assumed. Cibber and Tate had been guilty of gross mutilation, and they certainly have never surpassed the mangling of the work of Shakspeare as Dennis has done in this disrepu-

table version. In 1748, "Coriolanus," a tragedy, founded on Shakspeare's, was published, and it was acted at Covent Garden Theatre in 1749. It was the work of James Thomson, the author of "The Seasons," and "The Castle of Indolence," and he has in no way improved upon the original play. Thomson's production is cold and declamatory when compared with Shakspeare, and he has also grossly misrepresented the principal character. This is a result that was to be expected, for the poetic powers of Thomson did not possess a dramatic tendency. In 1750, a mosaic tragedy, composed of Shakspeare and Thomson was produced by Mr. Thomas Sheridan, "in order to adapt it better to the taste of the audience of the city of Dublin." This alteration was published anonymously, and was called "Coriolanus, or the Roman Matron," and was afterwards produced at Covent Garden Theatre in December, 1754, and in March, 1758. In 1789, J. P. Kemble produced "Coriolanus," as altered from Sheridan and Thomson, and in 1801, he introduced "Coriolanus," with additions by Thomson.* In 1806, it was again revised by Kemble, and three more editions were published,—one in 1811, one in 1812, and one in 1814. In 1820, the tragedy underwent another alteration at the hands of R. W. Elliston.

JULIUS CÆSAR, 43 Editions. In 1677, this tragedy was altered and revised by Sir Charles Sedley, a second edition of this alteration being published in 1796. In

*"The revival of *Coriolanus* was a mixture of Thomson and Shakspeare's tragedies, with five of the best scenes in the latter omitted, and what was judicious in the former, marred. I cannot help thinking that Kemble had only that sort of regard for Shakspeare which people have for the picturesque, who tear away ivy from a church-tower in order to whitewash its walls."—DORAN'S *Their Majesty's Servants*, vol. ii., p. 378.

1684, Julius Cæsar was revived at the Theatre Royal, and some slight alterations were made in the text, and also some transpositions of parts were effected. Marcellus was given to Casca, and the part of Cicero given to Trebonius. An edition of this version was published the same year of its production. In 1722, it was altered by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who divided it into two plays: one called "The Death of Marcus Brutus," and the other "Julius Cæsar." Julius Cæsar is based upon the first three acts of Shakspeare's tragedy, and considerable additions and also alterations are made, none of which have a tendency to add to the worth and greatness of the original, but, on the other hand, detract most materially therefrom. "The Death of Marcus Brutus" is composed of the last two acts of Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, with additional characters introduced to make up the necessary five acts. Junia the wife of Cassius, Dolabella, Varius, are among the new characters added to the *dramatis personæ*. To each of these plays was added a prologue, and the choruses were written after the manner of the ancients. In these two plays the author endeavours to preserve the unities of time, place and action. He makes the play of Julius Cæsar to begin "the day before Cæsar's death, and to end an hour after it." In Marcus Brutus "the play begins the day before the battle of Phillippi, and ends with it." The noble adaptor regrets that he cannot preserve the unity of place owing to the scene changing from Athens to Phillippi, and confesses he

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time and place as closely as possible, for the first and second acts take place in Rome, while the third and fourth are confined to Egypt. The early part of this version is chiefly devoted to scenic and ballet effects, so much so, that to a large quantity of the painter, upholsterer and ballet-master's art, there is but little of Shakspeare to leaven the mass. The tragedy as written by Shakspeare contains 3014 lines, but this version contains only 1396 Shakspearean lines. Mr. Halliday has not made many alterations in the language of Shakspeare, but he has been guilty of much omission, and what is still worse, the transposing of scenes and also of speeches from one character to another. He has not done this with the characters of Antony and Cleopatra, but with some of the minor characters, to the injury of the play. That a little Shakspeare is better than none at all, is but a poor excuse or apology for an English dramatist, or adaptor, to seize upon one of the grand works of the great dramatist, as a convenient peg to hang a display of dumb show and spectacle, that belongeth more to the world of panorama than it does to the dramatic world. It is but fair to say, that Mr. Halliday is not very often heard in the representation of this adaptation, but he is very frequently seen to the detriment of the action of the tragedy as it was conceived and executed by its original author. However, in these days of realistic sensations and upholstery displays, we must be content with the excised adaptations which the new gods of the theatrical world have given us.

CYMBELINE, 30 Editions. This tragedy has undergone frequent alterations,—Mr. Thomas D'Urfey perpetrating one in 1682, his version being produced at the Dorset Garden Theatre, and it was called "The Injured

Princess, or *The Fatal Wager*." The changes in the plot and in the language by D'Urfey are of the most material character, and like most other of the alterations of Shakspeare, they are really vile. Some of the names of the characters are changed; Eugenia being substituted for Imogen; Shatillon, a Frenchman, for Iachimo; Ursaces for Posthumus; the part of Guiderius is given to Arviragus, and the other young prince is called Palladour. Pisanio is converted into an elderly part and made to be the father of Clarina, an attendant of the young princess.

Act 1. Scene 1, is the parting of Ursaces and Eugenia; only a few lines of Shakspeare are spoken. In scene 2, which lies in France and is the scene in which Ursaces and Shatillon lay the wager, the language is mostly Shakspeare's.

Act 2, scene 1. But little of Shakspeare is spoken; in scene 2, which is between Shatillon and the queen, the language is about one-half by Shakspeare. The bed scene of Eugenia, in which Shatillon leaves chest, is not much varied. Cloten enters with the musicians, and Eugenia speaks some Shakspearean lines about the loss of her bracelet.

Act 3, scene 1. Shatillon produces the bracelet, and convinces Ursaces of his wife's infidelity; the language is chiefly from Shakspeare. Scene 2, the cave scene, is partly from Shakspeare. Bellarius enters—then Pisanio enters with Eugenia in man's clothes; though he believes in her guilt, he spares her, and gives her the phial from the queen. Nearly the whole of this scene is by D'Urfey.

Act 4, scene 1. The queen, enraged at the escape of Eugenia, orders Cloten's friend, Iachimo, to punish Clarina for concealing the princess's flight. Scene 2, Eugenia enters from the cave; this is partly from

Shakspere. Scene 3, Pisanio and Cloten, in the clothes of Ursaces, enter—Iachimo drags in Clarina—Pisanio fights with Iachimo, kills him and is himself wounded—Clarina runs off—Cloten puts out the eyes of Pisanio. The next scene is mainly from Shakspere, Eugenia being left on the stage as dead; and the act finishes with a new scene by D’Urfey between Bellarius, Arviragus and Palladour.

Act 5. The major portion of this act is by D’Urfey. In the battle Ursaces saves Cymbeline’s life—kills Shatillon, who previous to dying acknowledges Eugenia’s innocence—Ursaces and Eugenia are reconciled, and Cymbeline discovers his sons.

There is just enough left of Shakspere’s language to prevent this version from being wholly bad, for the additions made by D’Urfey are of the weakest and flimsiest character, not even being applicable to the period. One example will suffice: Ursaces says, that if every woman that forfeits honour should be deprived of life,

“ The full-fed city-dame would sin in fear,
The divine’s daughter slight the amorous cringe
Of her tall lover; the close salacious *Puritan*
Forget th’ appointment with her canting brother.”

In 1755, it was altered by Charles Marsh, a second edition of his version being published in 1762. In 1759, it was altered by W. Hawkins, fellow of Pembroke College, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. In this alteration the author has taken all manner of liberties with Shakspere, diverting the story, changing the nature of the characters, and so altering the language that he has robbed the tragedy of all its beauties. Hawkins has sought to conform this tragedy to classic rules, for he preserves the unities of time and place, though, to effect this purpose, he altogether omits

the part of Iachimo. In 1761, it was altered by David Garrick, whose alteration was a much better one than that of D'Urfey's, from the simple reason that more of Shakspeare's language was retained. Two other editions of Garrick's version were published,—one in 1762 and one in 1767. In 1778 it was altered by Harry Brooke. In this version Brooke has retained a great many of the original speeches, but he has materially changed the plot. The characters of the young princes, Guiderius and Arviragus, are omitted, Cloten is made a serious part, and the incidents of the tragedy are also much changed. The character of Posthumus Leonatus is much enlarged, though it is not by any means improved. Bellarius when young, had privately married Adelaide, the sister of Cymbeline, who being with child while her husband was on an embassy to the Romans, rather than acknowledge her marriage, which she thinks might prove injurious to her husband, is sentenced to be burnt for her unchastity at the altar of Andate. This fate, she however avoids—Bellarius turns hermit, kills Cloten, assists Cymbeline against the Romans, and ultimately proves to be the father of Leonatus, for he discovers in the priestess of the temple, his wife Adelaide. In 1795, it was altered by Ambrose Eccles. In 1800, it was altered and revised by J. P. Kemble, two other editions of his versions being published,—one in 1810, and one in 1815. In 1876, an expurgated edition of this tragedy, adapted for the purpose of being read aloud, was published. Its editor was Mr. H. Cundell, and it forms a portion of the edition of Shakspeare's works, known as "The Boudoir Shakspeare."

TITUS ANDRONICUS, 8 Editions. The first edition of this play is said by Langbaine, who appears to have

seen it, to have been printed in 1594, and it was certainly entered at Stationers' Hall on February 6th in that year, under the title of "A booke, entitled 'A Noble Historie of Titus Andronicus.'" No copy is now known to exist. In 1678, this tragedy was altered by Edward Ravenscroft,* and produced at the Theatre Royal, under the title of "Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia." It was first printed and published in 1687. In this alteration Ravenscroft has been guilty of many omissions, transpositions and additions, the latter being truly bad, for they pervert the meaning, destroy the sense, are wanting in beauty, in fulness of thought, and are of the weak, weakest. Many of these additions are quoted by Steevens, who, in his criticisms thereon, says, "in order that justice and cookery may go hand in hand, Aaron is at once racked and roasted upon the stage." Not content with thus transgressing, Ravenscroft instead of lessening the horrors of the play, has added to them, for he makes Tamora kill her own child, and causes the Moor Aaron thus to remark upon the deed:—

"She has outdone me, even in mine own art,
Outdone me in murder, killed her own child!
Give it me—I'll eat it!"

PERICLES, 13 *Editions*. This tragedy when it was originally produced was very successful. This is evidenced by the prologue to "The Hog hath lost his Pearl," produced in 1613 and written by Robert Tailor,—

" And, if it prove so happy as to please,
We'll say 'tis fortunate, like Pericles." †

* Ravenscroft was also author of a comedy called "The English Lawyer," produced at the Theatre Royal, in 1678. This comedy was founded on the Latin play of "Ignoramus," written by Ruggle, of Clare College, Cambridge, and was enacted by the students of Trinity College, in the hall of that Foundation, before King James I., in March 1614.

† Betterton when young was famed for his acting of the part of Pericles. According

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In 1833, on November 21st, another version composed

of Shakspeare and Dryden was produced at Drury Lane Theatre. Mr. Macready was Antony; Miss Phillips, Cleopatra; and Mr. Cooper, Enobarbus. In 1849, this tragedy was produced at the Sadler's Wells Theatre, by Mr. S. Phelps, who enacted the part of Antony, and the text of Shakspeare was scrupulously adhered to. No transpositions of speeches from one character to another, thus destroying the characterisation of the author, was indulged in, but each spake that which Shakspeare himself had written. The tragedy was placed upon the stage with much splendour and magnificence, yet the spectacular effect was made entirely subservient to the illustrating of the poet's lines. No additions of Dryden were inserted, and for the first time since the reign of Charles I., the English playgoer had an opportunity of seeing Antony and Cleopatra acted from the original text. Miss Glyn was the Cleopatra; Mr. H. Marston, Sextus Pompey; and Mr. C. Bennett, Enobarbus. In March, 1855, Antony and Cleopatra was produced at the Standard Theatre with great success. Mr. H. Marston and Miss Glyn personating the title role. In September, 1866, Mr. Charles Calvert arranged this tragedy for representation in four acts, and it was produced at the Manchester Theatre Royal. Mr. Calvert was Antony; Mrs. Calvert, Cleopatra; and Mr. J. Lunt, Enobarbus. In May, 1867, it was produced at the Princess Theatre, and ran for one month. Mr. H. Loraine was Antony; Miss Glyn, Cleopatra. On Saturday, September 21st, 1873, a version of Antony and Cleopatra was produced at Drury Lane Theatre, by Mr. Chatterton. This version was adapted by Mr. Andrew Halliday, who reduced the tragedy to four acts and compressed the thirty-three scenes of the original play into twelve. He also sought to preserve the unities of

time and place as closely as possible, for the first and second acts take place in Rome, while the third and fourth are confined to Egypt. The early part of this version is chiefly devoted to scenic and ballet effects, so much so, that to a large quantity of the painter, upholsterer and ballet-master's art, there is but little of Shakspeare to leaven the mass. The tragedy as written by Shakspeare contains 3014 lines, but this version contains only 1396 Shakspearean lines. Mr. Halliday has not made many alterations in the language of Shakspeare, but he has been guilty of much omission, and what is still worse, the transposing of scenes and also of speeches from one character to another. He has not done this with the characters of Antony and Cleopatra, but with some of the minor characters, to the injury of the play. That a little Shakspeare is better than none at all, is but a poor excuse or apology for an English dramatist, or adaptor, to seize upon one of the grand works of the great dramatist, as a convenient peg to hang a display of dumb show and spectacle, that belongeth more to the world of panorama than it does to the dramatic world. It is but fair to say, that Mr. Halliday is not very often heard in the representation of this adaptation, but he is very frequently seen to the detriment of the action of the tragedy as it was conceived and executed by its original author. However, in these days of realistic sensations and upholstery displays, we must be content with the excised adaptations which the new gods of the theatrical world have given us.

CYMBELINE, 30 *Editions*. This tragedy has undergone frequent alterations,—Mr. Thomas D'Urfey perpetrating one in 1682, his version being produced at the Dorset Garden Theatre, and it was called "The Injured

in 1680, one in 1692, and one in 1703. In 1744, Theophilus Cibber revised and altered this tragedy, and this alteration is a combination of Otway and Shakspeare, for what additions are made by Cibber are mainly derived from Caius Marius. Another feature in this alteration is the breaking up of the rhymes into blank verse, by the substitution of some few words for synonymous ones of a different termination, and the lopping off certain extraneous passages, which Cibber, in his great wisdom and knowledge of the poet's works, thought were trivial, prolix, or unnecessary to the general purport of the plot. This alteration was not printed till the year 1748. In 1746, it was altered and revised by Thomas Sheridan, and produced at the Dublin Theatre, where it ran nine nights to very full houses. Among other alterations made by Sheridan, was the transferring of Mercutio's great speech relative to Queen Mab to the part of Romeo. In 1749, it was altered by David Garrick, and produced on November 29th, at Drury Lane Theatre. In this version a grand funeral procession was introduced by Garrick, the songs and choruses making up the first scene of act 5. Garrick in his advertisement to the first printed edition, expressly states that "the chief design of the alterations" of this tragedy, "was to clear the original as much as possible from the jingle and quibble which were always the objections to reviving it." This he has done so well, that instead of improving upon the original text, he most completely demonstrates how little he understood the greatness of the poet he sought to improve, and how weak, futile and spiritless are his additions. In scene 5, act 5, he has been most busy with his additions and alterations, so that when the scene was presented, it was a mixture compounded of Shakspeare, Otway and

Garrick. Juliet is in the tomb and she awakes, exclaiming :—

Jul. “Where am I? defend me!

Rom. She speaks, she lives: and we shall still be bless’d.

My kind propitious stars o’erpay me now

For all my sorrows past—rise, rise, my Juliet,

And from this cave of death, this house of horror,

Quick let me snatch thee to thy Romeo’s arms,

There breathe a vital spirit in thy lips,

And call thee back to life and love. [*takes her hand.*

Jul. Bless me! how cold it is! who’s there?

Rom. Thy husband,

’Tis thy Romeo, Juliet; rais’d from despair

To joys unutt’rable! quit, quit this place,

And let us fly together. [*brings her from tomb.*

Jul. Why do you force me so—I’ll ne’er consent—

My strength may fail me, but my will’s unmov’d—

I’ll not wed Paris,—Romeo is my husband.”

Jul. “Oh, let me hear some voice

Besides my own in this drear vault of death.

Rom. She is my wife—our hearts are twin’d together—

Capulet forbear—Paris loose your hold—

Pull not my heart-strings thus—they crack—they break.

Oh, Juliet! Juliet! [*dies.*

On the entrance of the friar, Juliet becomes vehement, says, that “Romeo is here still, and I will hold fast; they shall not tear him from me;” threatens to stab herself if the friar should go nearer to her, and ultimately effects her purpose. Six other editions of this version were printed. It was again altered and published as “Capulet and Montague; or The Tragical Loves of Romeo and Juliet;” but the author’s name is not known, nor was the edition dated. In 1811, Garrick’s version was revised by J. P. Kemble, and a second edition was published in 1814. On Thursday, November 3rd, 1859, a burlesque upon this tragedy was produced at the Strand Theatre. It was written by Mr. Andrew Halliday, and a second edition was published in 1872.

HAMLET,* 78 *Editions*. In 1771, this tragedy was altered by David Garrick for Drury Lane Theatre. Garrick's version, however, was never printed, although it kept the stage nine years. This tragedy had been hitherto untouched by English adaptors and improvers, and this literary shame was left to be accomplished by the same Garrick who perpetrated the ridiculous farce of the Shakspeare Jubilee at Stratford-upon-Avon in the year 1769. In this version the acts were divided differently, for Garrick thought the first act too long, and that it had a tendency to drag in its representation, so he divided it into two, ending the first act with Hamlet's determination to watch with Horatio and Marcellus. He also materially changed the language and situations of some of the other scenes, and those in which the King and Laertes plot to destroy Hamlet were entirely altered, and Laertes was made a much more pleasing and interesting character. The voyage to England and the execution of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are omitted. The slowness with which the action advances, determined Garrick, in his treatment of this tragedy, and he declared that he would not quit the stage until he had "rescued this noble play from the rubbish of the fifth act." To accomplish this, the two gravediggers and Osric were entirely struck out, and the account of Ophelia's death omitted. The Queen, instead of being poisoned on the stage, was led from her seat and described to be in a state of insanity, in consequence of her strong sense of guilt. Hamlet and the King fight a duel, in which the King is killed, and

*During the time of the suppression of the theatres by the Puritans, "The Grave-makers, out of Hamlet," was one of the drolls then produced. It was first printed in Kirkman's "The Wits," in 1672, and it is the only one taken from Shakspeare in the collection.

Hamlet and Laertes die of wounds mutually inflicted. In 1780, Hamlet, as written by Shakspeare, was played at the Drury Lane Theatre on April 21st, for Bannister's (junr.) benefit. Hamlet: Bannister, junr. After this night, Garrick's version of this tragedy was played no more. Wilkinson published an alteration of this tragedy in his *Wandering Patentee*. In this version the acts are divided in a similar manner to Garrick's, but he alters the termination. The King fights with Hamlet and is killed, the Queen rushes out shrieking, and Laertes kills Hamlet. Speeches from other plays are also introduced in this version, in particular, the fine scene of Cardinal Beaufort's death, the King speaking the words which belong to the Cardinal. In 1796, J. P. Kemble altered and revised this tragedy, three other editions of this version being published,—one in 1800, one in 1804, and one in 1815. In 1813, a travestie of this tragedy was produced at Covent Garden Theatre, on June 17th. It was written by Mr. John Poole, and the characters were sustained as follows:—Hamlet, Matthews; the King, Blanchard; Laertes, Simmons; Horatio, Hamerton; the Ghost, Taylor; the Queen, Mrs. Liston; and Ophelia, Mr. Liston. Six editions of this travestie have been published,—one in 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814 and in 1817. At the Bath Theatre, on February 1st, 1827, a most ridiculous innovation was perpetrated by the manager. Macready was playing Hamlet, and in the third act, a kind of opera box was exhibited between the wings to the audience, with a stool before it; and while Hamlet was speaking his soliloquy, Miss Taylor, as Ophelia, knelt with her back to the prince, her arms leaning on the side of the box, as if she was leaning on the side of a pew in a church. This arrangement was received with smiles and derisive laughter. In 1864, an edition of this tragedy was published in the Welsh

language, under the title of "Tywysog Denmarc." In 1867, a second travestie was published, under the title of "A Slice of Hamlet," by the author of "The Duck's Motto." An edition of this tragedy, reduced to three acts, was published in or about the year 1870. In this version the first scene of the first act is omitted, so also is the first scene of the second act, and part of the second scene. In the third act, many cuts are made by the editor, Mr. Walter Gay, who, possessing a strong desire for shortening the tragedy, judges he will, by such means, confer a favour on "audiences and actors." Many other scenes are cut out, and these, to use Mr. Gay's own words, "are of no material importance to the play. The gravedigger's scene seems to have been written for the purpose of introducing some fun—also to burlesque two lawyers of Shakspeare's time—to bury Ophelia—to get up a quarrel between Laertes and Hamlet, and to allow some very fine remarks upon Yorick, who is not otherwise connected with the plot. The burial of Ophelia is uncalled for, as would be the burial of Polonius and others who die in the play. There is nothing so interesting in the *quarrel* that the audience need see it. A slight allusion to it is sufficient, consequently that scene can well be omitted." On Saturday, January 25th, 1879, Poole's travestie of this tragedy was revived at the Strand Theatre.

OTHELLO,* 52 Editions. In 1670, this tragedy underwent revision at the hands of John Dryden, of whose version no less than seven other editions were published, one in 1674, 1681, 1687, 1695,† 1697, 1701 and 1705.

* The opinion held by Pepy's of Shakspeare's Othello was not a very high one, for he thus wrote, August 20th, 1686:—"To Deptford by water, reading 'Othello, Moor of Venice,' which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read 'The Adventures of Five Houres,' it seems a mean thing."—*Diary*, vol. III., p. 11.

† How Shakspeare was understood at the latter part of the 17th century, and the

An edition of another alteration was published without date, under the title of "Jealousy exemplified in the awful tragical and bloody History of the Lives and untimely deaths of Othello and Desdemona." In 1804, J. P. Kemble altered and adapted this tragedy for Drury Lane Theatre, two other editions of this version being published,—one in 1808, and one in 1814. In March, 1834, a travestie of this tragedy, written by Maurice G. Dowling, was produced at the Liver Theatre, Liverpool, and was acted for fifty nights. This travestie was afterwards produced at the Strand Theatre, London, on May 16th, 1836, and met with great success. Several editions of this travestie were published by Duncombe and Lacy. A previous travestie of this tragedy, written by Colloy Molloy Westmacott, had been produced at the Adelphi Theatre in 1834, and was condemned. In 1861, Mr. C. Fechter, altered and adapted "Othello" for representation at the Princess Theatre, and in several of the scenes of his adaptation he has left out the sense, and not unfrequently the poetry, of Shakspeare.

estimation he was held in by some of the great critics of that time, is best evidenced by a reference to "A Short View of Tragedy," published in 1693, and written by one Thomas Rymer, of Gray's Inn. Speaking of Othello, he says, "never was any play fraught like this with improbabilities" (p. 92). "The foundation of the play must be concluded to be monstrous, and the constitution all over, to be—

"Most rank,
Foul disproportion, thoughts unnatural,"

which instead of moving pity, or any passion tragical and reasonable, can produce nothing but horror and aversion" (p. 14). "In the neighing of a horse, or the *growling* of a mastiff, there is a meaning, there is as lively expression, and, may I say, more humanity than many times in the tragical flights of Shakspeare" (p. 96). "Instead of representing men and manners, turning all morality, good sense and humanity into mockery and derision" (p. 112). "There is in this play some burlesk, some humour and ramble of comical wit, some show and some mimicry to divert the spectators; but the tragical part is, plainly, none other than a bloody farce, without salt or savour" (p. 144). Of Julius Cæsar, he says—"Cæsar and Brutus were above his conversation." "The truth is, the author's head was full of villainous, unnatural images, and history has only furnished with great names" (p. 148). Of the scene with Brutus and Cassius he thus expresses his opinion—"they are made to play a prize, a tryall of skill in huffing and swaggering, like two drunken Hectors, for a twopenny reckoning" (p. 155). "Shakspeare's genius lay for comedy and humour; in tragedy he appears quite out of his element; his brainse ar turn'd, he raves and rambles, without any coherence, any spark of reason, or any rule to controul him, or set bounds to his phrenzy" (p. 156).

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NOTE.

THE present edition has grown considerably in the course of revision, so much so, that it is double the bulk of its predecessor. It contains notices of Shakspeare by his contemporaries and successors ; life, and chronology of his works ; a list of every edition of his works published in English, the number of separate editions of his plays and poems ; with an account of his progress in Germany and France, together with other information, which it is hoped will prove interesting to Shakspearean readers.

July, 1874.



SHAKSPEREAN STATISTICS.

THESE Statistics have been partly derived from the article *Shakspeare*, to be found in Bohn's Edition of *Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual*, from Wilson, Halliwell and Thinn's *Shaksperianas*, from an article which appeared in the *Athenæum* during the year 1864; also from the article *Shakspeare* in *Allibone's Dictionary of Authors*, from the Catalogue of the Shakspeare Memorial Library at Birmingham,* and from a register kept of all editions of Shakspeare that have been published since 1847, and also of all works that have been published relating to Shakspeare and the new editions of his Plays published separately. They have been compiled, not to serve the

* This is unquestionably the largest and most complete Shakspearean Library, not only in England, but the world; and it certainly redounds to the credit of the Birmingham people, who in seeking to do honour to our own and the world's poet, who was a native of their county, they have also done honour to themselves. This Library was first suggested by Mr. Samuel Timmins in 1858, was first publicly advocated by Mr. George Dawson in 1861, and was finally established on April 23rd, 1864, when an address, with a deed of gift of a great number of Shakspearean volumes, were accepted by the Mayor (Mr. William Holliday), on behalf of the Town and Corporation. "The Library now, December 1872, contains 4,713 vols., of which the English number 3,109; French, 226; German, 1,125; Bohemian, 37; Danish, 60; Dutch, 53; Frisian, 2; Greek (modern), 2; Hungarian, 12; Italian, 43; Polish, 5; Russian, 13; Spanish, 2; Swedish, 22; Wallachian, 1; Welsh, 1."

purpose of the book-hunter as to the monetary value of scarce editions,—for the prices of none of the editions are given, excepting the first four folios and some of the early quarto editions,—but they have been compiled for the use of the general reader, to show, by the number of editions, the immense popularity of Shakspeare's writings. But few persons are aware of the numerous editions which have been published, the number of works written upon Shakspeare, and the extent and variety of languages in which his works have been translated. The following statistics will give the desired information upon each and all of these points; the number of editions being brought down to the middle of the year 1874, and the numerous works on Shakspeare, and in elucidation of his works during the last few years have been also added to the number of Shaksperiana.

No fairer way can be devised of judging of an author's popularity, than by taking the number of editions which have been published of his works, and the works which have appeared, seeking critically to explain and illustrate the meaning of his writings. If this test is applied to Shakspeare, we shall find him above all other authors. Supreme amongst human kind stands the Titan of Stratford. Not in his own country alone, but "the wide world" is fully cognizant of his worth, for in almost all European languages, and even in some of the Eastern, have his works or a part thereof been translated.

The notion that Shakspeare was not highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and that his works were not popular, has, happily, long been an exploded one. There was no dramatic writer of his time that in any way

approached his popularity; no other writer's works were to be so frequently seen upon the stage as those of Shakspeare.* He appears to have been in his own period the "be all and the end all," the "one bright particular star," the "observed of all observers," the "glass of fashion," in fact, a Colossus bestriding this "narrow world" of ours.

During the life-time of Shakspeare seventeen of his plays were published, some of them running through several editions. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *two*; *The Merchant of Venice*, *two*; *Richard the 2nd*, *five*; *Henry 4th*, part 1., *five*; *Henry 5th*, *three*; *Hamlet*, *five*; *Richard the 3rd*, *five*; *Troilus and Cressida*, *two*; *Titus Andronicus*, *two*; *Pericles*, *two*; *Lear*, *two*; *Romeo and Juliet*, *three*. A like result attended the publication of his Poems during his sojourn upon the earth. *Venus and Adonis*, *five*; *Lucrece*, *four*; *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *two*; and the Sonnets, *two*.

The earliest allusion made to Shakspeare as a poet, occurs in a MS. tract on "The Excellency of the English Tongue," penned by Richard Carew of Antony,

* The popularity of Shakspeare at this period is fully evidenced by the curious accounts of the Audit Office, which were discovered by Mr. P. Cunningham. On November 1st, 1604, at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, a play called *The Moor of Venice*; on the Sunday following, November 4th, a play of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; on St. Stephen's night, December 26th, a play called *Measure for Measure*; on Innocent's night, December 28th, the play of *Errors*; between New Year's Day and Twelfth-day, a play of *Love's Labour's Lost*; on the 7th of January, 1605, the play of *Henry V.*; on Shrove Sunday, a play of *The Merchant of Venice*; and on Shrove Tuesday, the play of *The Merchant of Venice* was repeated. The whole of these performances were given by his Majesty's players and by command of his Majesty James I.

Esq. It is addressed to William Camden, then Headmaster of Westminster Grammar School, and was printed among his "Remains." The passage runs:—"Will you read Virgil, take the Earl of Surrey, Catullus, *Shakespheare*."

In 1591, he is alluded to by Edmund Spencer, in his poem of *The Tears of the Muses*, in the lines.

"And he, the man whom Nature's self had made
To mock herself, and Truth to imitate,
With kindly counter, under mimic shade,
Our pleasant Willy, ah! is dead of late;
With whom all joy and pleasant merriment
Is also deaded, and in dolour drent."

In 1592, he is alluded to in Robert Green's pamphlet, *A Groatworth of wit, bought with a million of repentance*. It is addressed to Marlowe, Lodge and Peele, three of his old acquaintances. "Base minded men, all three of you, if by my misery yee bee not warned; for unto none of you (like me) sought these burs to cleave; those puppets (I meane) that spake from their mouths, those anticks garnished in our colours. Is it not strange that I to whom they have all been beholding; is it not like that you to whom they all have been beholding, shall (were yee in that case that I am now) be both of them at once forsaken? Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his Tygres heart wrapt in a player's hyde, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes Factotum is in his own conceyte the only *Shake-scene* in a country." The apology of Chettle, who edited the posthumous works of Greene, in which this spiteful effusion was contained, serves to show the popularity of Shakspeare. He says, in his preface to the *Kind Heart's Dream*,

"how I have, all the time of my conversing in printing, hindered the bitter envying against schollers, it hath been well knowne; and how is that I dealt I can sufficiently proove. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be: the other whome at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have used my own discretion, especially in such a case, the author being dead. That I did not, I am as sorry as if the originall fault had been my fault, because my selfe have seene his demeanour no less civill than he excellent in the qualitie he professes; Besides divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art." * Some short time after the death of Greene, Dr. G. Harvey, the companion and friend of the poet Spenser, published *Four Letters and Sonnets*, in which he most sharply comments on the deceased dramatist. The third letter, however, contains an allusion to Shakspeare, for after commending Spenser, Sidney, Watson, Daniel, Nash and others, as objects of imitation, he says:—"I speak generally to every springing wit, but more especially to a few; and at this instant singularly to *one* whom I salute with a hundred blessings, and entreat with as many prayers to love them that love good wits, and hate none but the devil and his incarnate imps, notoriously professed!" The few he has already mentioned, and the *one* here meant, cannot be but the *one* of England—William Shakspeare.

* In a recent letter to the Athenæum, Mr. Staunton has sought to show that Chettle in his Apology for the *Groatsworth of Wit*, does not allude to Shakspeare, but he fails to prove his position, for the facts of the case evidently show that it is an undoubted allusion to the great master.

In 1594, Spenser again alludes to him in his poem *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, under the feigned name of Aëtion :—

“ And theré, though last, not least, is Aëtion—
A gentler shepherd may nowhere be found,
Whose music, full of high thought's invention,
Doth like himself heroically sound.”

In the same year, John Marston, the dramatist, thus alludes to Shakspeare in the eleventh satire of the *Scourge of Villany* :—

“ Luscus, what's plaid to-day ; Faith, now I know,
I set thy lips aboach, from whence doth flow
Nought but pure ‘ Juliet and Romeo.’ ”

Drayton, too, in 1594, in his *Matilda*, also alludes to Shakspeare :—

“ Lucrece, of whom proud Rome hath boasted long,
Lately revived to live another age.”

Willobie, in his poem of *Avisa*, produced in 1594, thus writes of Shakspeare and his poem of *Lucrece* :—

“ Though Collatine have dearly bought
To high renowne a lasting life,
And found that most in vaine have sought
To have a faire and constant wife.
Yet Tarquine pluct his glistening grape,
And Shakespeare paints poore Lucrece, rape.”

In 1595, *The Return from Parnassus*, was first publicly acted by the students of St. John's College, Cambridge, and it thus alludes to Shakspeare :—

“ Who loves Adonis' love or Lucrece's rape,
His sweeter verse contains heart-throbbing life,
Could but a graver subject him content,
Without love's lazy foolish languishment.”

The poets and dramatists of the period the author then passes in review, and after commenting on each, observes, “ Why, here's our fellow Shakspeare puts them

all down—aye, and Ben Jonson, too.” In the same year, in a marginal note to a work entitled *Poliamenteia*, published in quarto, the author writes that “all praise” the Lucretia of “sweet Shakespeare.”

In 1598, the most important allusion to the position of Shakspeare among his contemporaries, is found in Mere’s *Palladis Tamia*, or *Wit’s Treasury*, being the second part of *Wit’s Commonwealth*. “As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras; so the sweet wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakspeare, witnes his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends, &c.

“As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latins: so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witness his *Gentleman of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love’s Labour Lost*, his *Love’s Labour Wonne*, his *Midsummer’s Night Dreame*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; for Tragedy, his *Richard II.*, *Richard III.*, *Henry IV.*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*.

“As Epius Stolo said that the Muses would speak with Plautus’ tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeare’s fine filed phrase, if they would speake English,” folios 281, 282.

In this year, also, Richard Barnefield published a work in verse, entitled, *A Remembrance of some English Poets*, in which he thus alludes to Shakspeare:—

“And Shakespeare, thou, whose honey-flowing vein
(Pleasing the world), thy praises doth obtain;
Whose ‘Venus,’ and whose ‘Lucrece’ (sweet and chaste);
Thy name in Fame’s immortal book have plac’d;

Live ever you, at least, in fame live ever ;
Well may the body die, but Fame dies never."

Among the *Epigrams* of Weever, published in 1599, but which were written some years earlier, the following lines were addressed to Shakspeare :—

"AD GULIELLUM SHAKESPEARE.

"Honey-tongued Shakespeare, when I saw thine issue,
I swore Apollo got them, and no other ;
Their rose-tainted features clothed in tissue,
Some heaven-born goddess said to be their mother :
Rose-cheek'd Adonis, with his amber tresses,
Fair, fire-hot Venus charming him to love her,
Chaste Lucretia, virgin-like her dresses,
Proud lust-stung Tarquin seeking still to prove her ;
Romeo, Richard, more whose names I know not,
Their sugred tongues and power attractive beauty,
Say they are saints, although that saints they show not,
For thousands vow to them subjective duty.
They burn in love, thy children, Shakespeare, let them
Go, woo thy Muse ; more nymphish brood beget them."

In 1603, the year of the death of Queen Elizabeth, Henry Chettle remonstrates with Shakspeare for neglecting to pay some poetical tribute to her memory. The title of the poem is, *England's Mourning Garment*, and the author thus alludes to the bard of Avon, under the name of Melicert :—

"Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert,
Drop from his honied muse one sable tear,
To mourn her death that graced his dessert,
And to his lays open'd her royal ear.
Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin, Death."

In this same year, the name of Shakspeare is mentioned in an invitation to write on behalf of "England's Queene," in "A Mournful Dittie, entitled, Elizabeth's Losse, together with a Welcome for King James, to a

pleasant new tune. Imprinted at London, for T. P."—
(Thomas Purfoote.)

"You Poets all, brave Shakspeare,
Johnson, Greene,
Bestow your time to write
For England's Queene."

Also, in this year, John Davies, of Hereford, published his *Microcosmos*, in which he also alludes to Shakspeare and his fellow-actor, Burbadge. It is only by the initials of their names that the allusion is made.

"Players, I love ye, and your quality,
As ye are men that pass time not abus'd;
And some (W. S., R. B.) I love for painting, poesy,
And say fell Fortune cannot be excus'd,
That hath for better uses you refus'd;
Wit, courage, good shape, good parts, and all good,
As long as all these goods are no worse us'd;
And though the stage cloth stain, pure, gentle blood,
Yet generous ye are in mind and mood."

The same rude rhymers, in his *Humours*, &c., published in 1605, speaking of the followers of Fortune, again pays a compliment to Shakspeare and his fellow-actor.

"Some followed her by acting all men's parts;
Those on a stage she rais'd, in scorn, to fall,
And made them mirrors by their acting arts,
Wherein men saw their faults, though ne'er so small:
Yet some (W. S., R. B.) she guerdon'd not to their desarts;
But otherwise were but ill-action all,
Who, while they acted ill, ill stayed behind,
By custom of their manners, in their mind."

Dr. Gabriel Harvey, the astrologer, a friend of Spenser, the poet, made the following entry, early no doubt in the seventeenth century, in one of his books; "The younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, but his *Lucrece* and his tragedy of

Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, have it in them to please the wiser sort."

John Davies, of Hereford, with whom Shakspeare appears to have been an especial favourite, in a poem entitled *The Scourge of Folly*, which seems to have been printed about the year 1611, thus addresses the bard in the following lines :—

"TO OUR ENGLISH TERENCE, MR. WILL. SHAKESPEARE.

"Some say, good Will., which I, in sport, do sing,
Hadst thou not played some kingly parts in sport,
Thou had'st been a companion for a king,
And been a king among the meaner sort.
Some others rail ; but rail as they think fit,
Thou hast no railing, but a reigning wit ;
And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reap,
So to increase their stock, which they do keep."

In a poem entitled *The Ghost of Richard III.*, written by "C. B." supposed to be Christopher Brooke, and published in 1614, the author thus alludes to Shakspeare in the following lines, spoken by Richard :—

"To him that imp'd my fame with Clio's quill,
Whose magic raised me from oblivion's den,
That writ my story on the Muses' hill,
And with my actions dignified his pen ;
He that from Helicon sends many a rill,
Whose nectared veins are drunk by thirsty men ;
Crown'd be his style with fame, his head with bays,
And none detract, but gratulate his praise."

The estimation Shakspeare was held in, is still further shown in the *Dedication*, and the address to the variety of readers, written by his fellow-players, Heminge and Condell, published in the first folio. The commendatory verses therein contained also strengthen this view. They are written by four different authors, all men of note in their generation : first among whom stands the name of "O rare Ben Jonson," who thus sings :—

“ Soule of the age !
 The applause ! delight ! the wonder of our stage,
 Triumph, my Britaine, thou hast one to shoue,
 To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe,
 He was not of an age, but for all time ! ”

The other authors are Leonard Digges, a member of University College, Oxford; J. M. James Mabbe, a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; and Hugh Holland, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; both Universities being represented in this list, thus evidencing the hold which the works of Shakspeare had taken of English thought and aspirations. The last-named author, Hugh Holland, thus sings :—

“ Done are Shakespeare’s days ;
 His days are done that made the dainty plays,
 Which made the Globe of heaven and earth to ring :
 Dried is that vein, dried is the Thespian spring,
 Turn’d all to tears, and Phœbus clouds his rays :
 That corpse, that coffin, now bestick those bays,
 What crown’d him poet first, then poet’s king.”

In 1632, the year of the publication of the second folio, John Milton, dedicated a sonnet (published in the folio) to the memory of that admirable dramatic poet, William Shakspeare; and in 1645, in his *L’Allegro*, he paid him another tribute in the words—

“ Then to the well-trod stage anon
 If Jonson’s learned sock be on,
 Or sweetest Shakspeare, fancy’s child,
 Warble his native wood-notes wild.”

In 1633, was published the celebrated *Histiro-Matrix, the Player’s Scourge*, by William Prynne. In this volume there is a direct allusion to Shakspeare’s collected Works and to their popularity, for Prynne says in his address to the Christian reader, “ Some play-books since I first undertook this subject are grown from quarto into folio, which yet bear so good a price and sale, that I cannot

but with grief relate it, they are now printed in far better paper than most octavo or quarto bibles, which hardly find such vent as they." The two folios at that time published, viz. : the first and second were the only dramatic folios then extant, and there can be no question that the allusion is more particularly made to the second folio. The earliest folio edition of the works of any other dramatist, was that of Ben Jonson's, whose plays, masques and poems were first collected and published in 1640. The works of Beaumont and Fletcher were not collected and published in folio until the year 1647.

From the year 1633 to the commencement of the Civil War, the court favour and protection was bestowed upon dramatists and dramatic representations in direct opposition to the middle classes, who were strongly opposed to plays and players. Among the middle classes the elements of Puritanism were very strongly developed, and upon all occasions they sought to put a stop to dramatic entertainments. The Puritans possessed two motives in attacking the drama ; for not only was their democracy political, but it was also strongly religious. In 1642, the theatres were closed by the order of the Puritans, who, unfortunately in their blind zeal and fanaticism, attacked that which was good as well as that which was bad. The white heat of religious passion with which the Puritans were filled, and the great austerity of manners which they assumed, served to produce a one-sidedness of mental vision, which generated the opinion that nought good could be seen, felt or experienced, except in their own peculiar way, and thus was the enacting of stage plays sought to be prevented, and the poor player's art prohibited by law, because the Puritans affirmed it would be dangerous to the mental, moral and spiritual well-being of the State.

In 1646, in a work called *The Times Displayed*, a poem in six sestiyads, by S. Sheppard, in the 9th stanza of the last sestiyad, the author thus alludes to Shakspeare :—

“ See him whose tragick sceans Euripides
Doth equal, and with Sophocles we may
Compare great Shakspear : Aristophanes
Never like him his fancy could display,
Witness the Prince of Tyre, his Pericles.”

In 1647, owing to the former Act not having completely effected the purpose for which it was passed, another edict of a still more stringent character was passed by the Puritans, who thus thought, though thinking wrongly, that they could stamp out the actor's calling. Not only were the actors subject to imprisonment as rogues and vagabonds, but any person caught witnessing a performance was subject to a fine, for the payment of which the magistrate could distrain upon the offender's goods. During the whole of the period of the Commonwealth the players only played by stealth, all attempts of a public nature being rigidly suppressed.

In 1659 the theatres were again opened, and in the year 1660 there were three companies playing in London, viz. : the Red Bull, Killigrew's, and Davenant's. By these companies fifteen of Shakspeare's plays were represented, a proof of the author's enduring popularity. The list embraces, *Henry IV.*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Othello*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Pericles*, *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, *Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry VIII.*, *Twelfth Night*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Henry V.*, and a *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

In 1668 appeared John Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*, in which Dryden puts Shakspeare above all modern

poets, and perhaps some ancient, as possessing "the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the images of nature were still present to him, and he drew them not laboriously, but luckily; when he describes anything, you more than see it, you feel it." In 1675, Edward Phillips, nephew of the poet Milton, published his *Theatre Poetarum*, and among his criticisms upon the dramatic writers, he thus speaks of William Shakspeare, "the glory of the English stage; whose nativity at Stratford-upon-Avon is the highest honour that town can boast of; from an actor of tragedies and comedies, he became a maker, and such a maker, that though some others may pretend to a more exact decorum and economy, especially in tragedy, never any expressed a more lofty and tragic height, never any represented nature more purely to the life; and where the polishments of art are most wanting, as probably his learning was not extraordinary, he pleaseth with a certain wild and native elegance; and in all his writings, hath an unvulgar style, as well in his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Rape of Lucrece*, and other various poems, as in his dramatics."

To Dryden and Phillips succeeded Rymer, Gildon, Dennis and others, who made the works of Shakspeare the subject of their special criticism. In 1709, appeared the first critical edition of Shakspeare's Works, with life, edited by N. Rowe, playwright and poet laureate to Queen Anne. The critical part is extremely weak, the life vague and indefinite, containing the deer-stealing, the lampoon against Sir Thomas Lucy, the horse-holding and other traditional stories which have since been handed down. A second edition of this work was published in 1714, and at that period, was regarded as the standard edition of the poet's works, until the appearance of Pope's edition in 1725, which, despite an excellent preface, and

a few happy emendations, must be looked upon as a failure. To Pope succeeded Theobald, whose edition though decried by Pope, had a very rapid sale. It was frequently reprinted, and not less than thirteen thousand copies were sold of the first six editions. Hammer, Warburton and Cibber were among the editors during the eighteenth century; the latter author writing in 1740, thus speaking of the stage and Shakspeare, "What eager appetites from so long a fast must the guests of those times have had to that high and fresh variety of entertainments which Shakspeare had left prepared for them! *Never was such a stage so provided.* A hundred years are wasted, and another silent century well advanced, and yet what unborn age shall say Shakespeare has his equal." *

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the works of Shakspeare had a sale fourfold that of any other author. Milton was put up by the so-called leaders of literary taste, to be the great poet of our country, but these pretenders knew not Shakspeare, nor the hold his works had gained on the affections and judgment of the English nation. They did not perceive that the love of his works, generated by their intense love of humanity and the promotion of its interest, was deeply rooted in the minds of the English people, from whence it could not be torn, without disturbing the English nation, and without destroying in no small degree, the phraseology of common life.

To mention all the writers, during the eighteenth century, who wrote upon and strove to improve the works of the great bard is not in any way desirable, nor would it prove a source of gratification. That they all did not understand the master's works is certain, neither can it be expected that they should have done so, for most of them leant towards the classic drama of the schools, in-

* Cibber's Autobiography, p. 58.

stead of the drama of humanity, of which Shakspeare is the one great master. The preserving of the classic unities by the dramatist, with this class of critics was the "be all and the end all," and they accordingly found fault with Shakspeare, who frequently disregards the unities of time and space, though he faithfully preserves the unity of character and feeling—the individuality and truth of nature. The frigid artificial school of Pope and his followers, who sacrificed sense to sound, could find but little in conjunction with their own pettiness, in the works of the wondrous man of Stratford; and it is not in the least degree surprising that the cold classicality of Addison, should be placed on a par with the ever-breathing, life-giving characters of Father Will.

The closer attention which has been paid to the bard's works since the time of Pope and Warburton, by a higher class of critics, who possessed a deeper acquaintance with the rich poetic treasures contained in our literature and who also held the opinion, that, not only was Shakspeare to be distinguished by the splendour of his parts, but that he was equally great in his treatment of the whole. The labours of Mason, Douce and others, prepared the way for the dissemination of that more complete knowledge which marks the exertions of Coleridge, Hazlitt, Knight, Collier, Singer, Dyce, Staunton, Clarke, Lloyd, Wright and others, and which has most fully developed the intense power, the energy, the sweetness and, above all, the truthfulness of Shakspeare. This result has also been materially assisted by the movement in Germany, which was inaugurated by Lessing and Goethe, continued by Tieck, Schlegel and Gervinus, and is now carried on by Lemcke, Bodenstedt, Delius and Ulrici.

In 1840, the establishment of a Shakspeare Society gave a great impulse to the study of the works of

Shakspeare, and it also tended to produce a more correct understanding of the wonderful power and knowledge of human character, which those works contain. The object of this society was the publishing of works "illustrative of Shakspeare, and the literature of his time." During the twelve years of its existence, the society published about 47 volumes, containing much information relative to Shakspeare and the nature of the Shakspearean drama, furnishing examples of contemporary dramatists and also the sources from whence Shakspeare had derived some of the plots of his dramas, though never any of their characterisation, thus fully carrying out the purpose for which it came into existence. In 1873, a new society was projected, and it already promises to be highly successful. Its objects are of a similar nature to the old society, and it possesses an advantage in being more expansive in its character. One new feature in connection with this society, is the establishment of branches throughout the United Kingdom, for the purpose of reading the plays, so as to develope a knowledge of their construction and also their relation to our language. Up to the present time several branches have been established in some of the principal towns, and the movement is being prosecuted most vigorously. Thus the wave of Shakspearean lore among the multitude cannot fail to enhance their knowledge, and to lead to a more correct and truthful understanding of the works of the great dramatist; for the more they are read, studied and thought over, the higher will be the estimation in which that true exponent of humanity, William Shakspeare, will be held, not only by his fellow-countrymen, but by the largest portion of the inhabitants of the civilized world.

CHRONOLOGY OF SHAKSPERE'S LIFE AND WORKS.

1564. April 23rd, St. George's Day, is the reputed day of birth. In the parish register of baptisms, at Stratford, on the 26th of the month of April, occurs this entry :—William Shakspere, son of John Shakspere. It was the custom of those days to baptize the infant children early, for it was looked upon as a tempting of Providence if it was not done at once ; the ceremony was therefore usually performed within three or four days of the birth. In the month of June of this year, the town of Stratford was visited by the plague, which carried off 200 of the inhabitants out of a population of 1,500.

1569. The Queen's players first visited Stratford, at which time Shakspere's father was high-bailiff. The Earl of Worcester's players also paid a visit to Stratford during this year.

1571. Shakspere sent to the Free Grammar School of Stratford, where it is most "probable he acquired what Latin he was master of."

1573. The Earl of Leicester's players visited Stratford.

1576. In this year two companies of players visited Stratford, my lord of Warwick and the Earl of Leicester's.

1577. Lord Leicester's and Lord Warwick's companies of players paid a visit to Stratford. Excepting the year 1578, the town was annually visited by a

company of players up to the year 1587, when no less than five companies of players paid a visit to the town.

1578. In this year Shakspeare left school; his doing so, being no doubt caused by the narrowness of his father's circumstances. From this year to the time of Shakspeare leaving Stratford for London, there is no record showing what pursuit or occupation he followed. By Malone he is said to have been in a lawyer's office, an opinion concurred in by the late Chief Justice Campbell; by Farmer and others he is said to have been a butcher; by some he is said to have been a glover; but the occupation he in all probability followed, was that of a tiller of the soil, to which in Shakspeare's time was annexed that of a butcher, a glover and others of a kindred nature.

1579. In this year was buried on the 4th of July, Anne, sister of Shakspeare; for among the chamberlain's accounts appears the following item: "for the bell and pall for Mr. Shaxper's daughter viijd."

1582. Shakspeare married Anne Hathaway, daughter of Richard Hathaway, husbandman, of Shottery, in the parish of Stratford. This marriage, the completion of "the perfect ceremony of love's rite," would have been celebrated before but for the ceremony of betrothal, which was held to be more binding than it is at the present day, for though it did not possess a legal sanction, it was held in morals to be an engagement that should not be broken. In *The Old Wife's Tale*, by George Peele, there is a magic light to be blown out by one who is neither maid, wife nor widow. "The light is blown out by Venetia, not maid, because she is betrothed; not wife, because she is not married; and not widow, because he lives to whom she is betrothed."

In *Measure for Measure* the poet himself conveys this impression of the importance of betrothal in the scene where the Duke urges Mariana to keep the assignation with Angelo :—

“ Nor gentle daughter, fear you not at all.
He is your husband on a pre-contract :
To bring you thus together 'tis no sin.”

1583. Susanna, his daughter is born. This daughter afterwards married in 1607 Dr. John Hall, a physician of the town of her nativity.

1585. His son Hamnet and his daughter Judith born. Three children while Shakspeare was still a minor.

1586. In this year Shakspeare went to London. Whether driven by the deer-stealing business, as related by Rowe, or by the seemingly hopeless embarrassed state of his father's affairs, or from a strong love of the stage, caused in all probability by the actors' visits to Stratford, it is now impossible to determine. That he went to London and took to the stage is certain, and as gossip Aubrey reports, “ did act exceeding well.” The same author also says that “ he began early to make essays at dramatic poetry, which at that time was very low, and his plays took well.”

1587. Shakspeare is connected with a company of players, of which his townsman, Thomas Green was a member. Burbage, the great actor, a Warwickshire man, was the principal in this company.

1589. The first part of King Henry VI. produced.

1590. Pericles, King of Tyre produced.

1591. The second and third parts of King Henry VI., and the Two Gentlemen of Verona produced.

1592. The comedy of Errors, Love's Labour Lost

and *Love's Labour Won* were produced. In all probability the latter title was but an early name for that play which is now known as *All's Well that Ends Well*.

1593. Richard II. and Richard III. produced. In this year was also published his *Venus and Adonis*, the "first heir of his invention."

1594. *Titus Andronicus* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* produced. In this year was first published *Lucrece*.

1596. *Taming of the Shrew*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *King John* produced. In this year died his son Hamnet, aged eleven years.

1597. *The Merchant of Venice* and the first part of *Henry IV.* produced. Shakspeare in this year purchased for £60 from Mr. William Underhill, of Idlecote, New Place, one of the best houses in Stratford. It had been built by Sir Hugh Clopton, in the reign of Henry VII.

1598. The second part of *Henry IV.* and *All's Well that Ends Well* produced. In this year an amended version of Ben Jonson's play of *Every Man in his Humour* was produced at the Blackfriars Theatre. Shakspeare, it is said, suggested this to his brother dramatist and it led to a lasting affection between the two play-wrights. The name of Shakspeare is printed first in the list of the *dramatis personæ*, the character of Knowell being undertook by the great dramatist.

1599. *Henry V.*, and *As You Like It* produced. The popularity of Shakspeare's name is shown by the publication of a small collection of poems, some of which were not by him, under the title of "*The Passionate*

Pilgrim. This work was printed for W. Jaggard, and was sold by W. Leake at the Greyhound, in Paule's Churchyard, London. In this year Shakspeare seems to have had a share in the Globe Theatre, for according to documents lately discovered by Mr. Halliwell, to get a company and to keep them together, the Burbages entered into a twenty-one years' partnership with "those deserving men Shakspeare, Hemings, Condall, Philips and others, partners in ye proffittes of that they call the house." Some years later, Shakspeare also became a proprietor in another theatre, for the breaking up of Evans' company, "commonly called the Queene's Majesties Children of the Chappell;" the sons of Burbage bought the lease of the Blackfriars Theatre, and "placed men Players, which Hemings, Condall, Shakspeare and others," evidently on the same terms as they enjoyed at the Globe, a partnership in the profits of the House.

1600. *Much Ado about Nothing* and *Hamlet* produced.

1601. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Twelfth Night* produced. Early in September in this year the Poet's father, John Shakspeare died, and was buried at Stratford.

1602. *Troilus and Cressida* produced. In May of this year, Shakspeare purchased 107 acres of arable land in the parish of Old Stratford, from William and John Combe. In the latter part of this year, Shakspeare made two more purchases: one a cottage and its grounds near New Place, from Walter Getley, and one messuage, two barns, two gardens, and two orchards for £60, from Hercules Underhill. In July of this year the tragedy of

Othello was performed before Queen Elizabeth, at Harefield place, the seat of Lord Keeper Egerton, by Burbridge's players, for which service they received £10.

1603. Henry VIII. produced. "The Tragical Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, by William Shakespeare. As it hath beene diverse times acted by his Highnesse's servants in the Citie of London; as also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and elsewhere. At London, Printed for N. L. and John Trundell, 1603. This edition in all probability was a piracy, being made up from the actors taken during the the performance and from a surreptitious use of the prompter's book.

1604. Measure for Measure produced. Shakspeare in this year brought an action against Philip Rogers for £1. 15s. 10d. for malt sold and delivered to him at several times.

1605. Shakspeare in this year made the largest purchase he ever completed, giving the sum of £440 for the unexpired term of a moiety of a lease, granted in 1544 for 92 years, of the tithes of Old Stratford, Bishop-ton and Welcombe. Augustine Philips, in his will dated May of this year, "gives to my fellowe, William Shakspeare, a thirty-shillings peece of gould."

1606. Macbeth and King Lear produced.

1607. Julius Cæsar produced. In this year Shakspeare's eldest daughter, Susannah, was married on June 5th, to Dr. John Hall, a physician of her native town. Also in this year the Poet's youngest brother, Edmund, a fellow-actor died, and was buried in the church of St. Mary, Overy, Southwark, on the 31st of December.

1608. Antony and Cleopatra produced. In this year died the Poet's mother, and was laid in her grave on September 9th, seven years and a day after the burial of her husband. On October 10th, Shakspeare stood sponsor for his godson, William Walker, to whom in his will he bequeathed "20s. in gold." In all probability Shakspeare took up his residence in his native town this year, no mention being made of his sustaining any parts upon the stage after 1604. The grand-daughter of Shakspeare, was born in this year, being the daughter of John and Susanna Hall. Three editions of the tragedy of King Lear were published during this year, thus demonstrating the popularity of Shakspeare as a dramatist. This is further evidenced by the fact of the third edition of Richard II., a fourth edition of Richard III., and a fourth of Henry IV., part 1, being also published in this year. In addition, the Yorkshire Tragedy was published with the name of Shakspeare on the title-page, thus furnishing further proof of his name being a popular one in the book market.

1609. On March 15, Shakspeare sued John Addenbrooke in the Stratford court for a debt of £6, and 24s. damages and costs. Owing to the absence of the debtor, Shakspeare sued his surety, Thomas Horneby, on the 7th of June following. In this year Cymbeline was produced and the sonnets were first published by T. T., Thomas Thorpe, who evidently did not obtain them direct from their author.

1610. Coriolanus and Timon of Athens produced. During this year Shakspeare interested himself in the advancement of public improvements in connexion with Stratford, for in a list of donations "collected towards the charge prosecutyng the bill in parliament for the

better repair of the high waes," the name of "Mr. William Shakspeare" occurs. Othello was performed at the Globe Theatre during this year.

1611. On November 1st, The Tempest was played before King James, by his majesty's players for the first time; and on November 5th, was produced and played before the king, by the same company, The Winter's Tale.

1612. In March of this year, Shakspeare bought a house in the Blackfriars from Henry Walker, "abutting on the east part, right against the King's Majesty's Wardrobe."

1613. In this year the Globe Theatre was burnt down during the performance of Henry VIII. In this year too died the poet's brother, Richard Shakspeare, and was buried in the parish churchyard of Stratford.

1614. This was a busy year for Shakspeare, his time being much occupied on business relating to proposed enclosure of common lands near Stratford. In the summer of this year a great fire occurred in Stratford, and fifty-four houses were burnt down, but no property belonging to Shakspeare was injured. Among the owners of property claiming compensation relative to enclosure the name of Mr. Shakspeare occurs among the "auncient freeholders in ffields of Old Stratford and Welcombe."

1615. During this year, Shakspeare was also much occupied with the question of enclosure, for Mr. Thomas Greene, Clerk to the Stratford Corporation, who was sent to London on this business, writes September 1st, that "Mr. Shakspeare told Mr. Green that he was not able to bear the enclosing of Welcombe." Among the notes

during his stay in London, he says, date November 17th, "My cosen Shakspear comying yesterday to town, I went and to see him how he did. And he and Mr. Hall say they think there will be nothing done at all."

1616. On the 10th of February, Judith, the youngest daughter of Shakspeare, was married to Thomas Quiney, a vintner and wine-merchant at Stratford. On the 23rd day of April in this year, Shakspeare died, aged 52 years, and was buried two days afterwards in the chancel of Stratford Church.



A LIST OF SHAKSPERE PLAYS AND POEMS,
WITH THE NUMBER OF LINES
CONTAINED IN EACH.

The Tempest	..	..	2015
Two Gentlemen of Verona	..	..	2193
The Merry Wives of Windsor	..	..	2634
Measure for Measure	..	..	2660
The Comedy of Errors	..	..	1752
Much Ado about Nothing	..	..	2502
Love's Labour's Lost	..	..	2655
A Midsummer Night's Dream	..	..	2102
The Merchant of Venice	..	..	2554
As You Like It	..	..	2608
The Taming of the Shrew	..	..	2552
All's Well that Ends Well	..	..	2737
Twelfth Night	..	..	2428
The Winter's Tale	..	..	2925
King John	..	..	2595
Richard II.	..	..	2755
Henry IV., part 1	..	..	2868
" " " 2	..	..	3175
" V.	..	..	3180
" VI., part 1	..	..	2676
" " " 2	..	..	3175
" " " 3	..	..	3180
Richard III.	..	..	3609
Henry VIII.	..	..	2806
Troilus and Cressida	..	..	3329
Coriolanus	..	..	3285
Titus Andronicus	..	..	2517

Romeo and Juliet	..	..	2982
Julius Cæsar	..	..	2436
Timon of Athens	..	..	2289
Macbeth ..	..	..	2093
Hamlet ..	..	..	3661
King Lear ..	..	..	3208
Othello ..	..	..	3229
Antony and Cleopatra	..	..	3014
Cymbeline ..	..	..	3265
Pericles ..	..	..	2329
Venus and Adonis	..	..	1194
The Rape of Lucrece	..	..	1855
The Sonnets	..	..	2156
A Lover's Complaint	..	..	329
The Passionate Pilgrim	..	..	442
The Phoenix and the Turtle	..	..	67

108,016

The tragedy of Hamlet contains the greatest number of lines, 3661; Richard III. the next greatest number, 3609. The Comedy of Errors contains the least number, 1752. The longest act in any of the plays is found in Richard III., the first act containing 1061 lines. The longest scene is in Love's Labour Lost, scene II., act 2, containing 918 lines.



DATE OF THE PLAYS WHEN FIRST PRINTED.

1594. Henry VI., part 2.
1595. Henry VI., part 3.
1597. Romeo and Juliet.
Richard II.
Richard III.
1598. Love's Labour Lost.
Henry IV., part 1.
1599. Henry IV., part 2.
1600. Henry V.
The Merchant of Venice.
Titus Adronicus.
Much Ado about Nothing.
A Midsummer Night's Dream.
1602. The Merry Wives of Windsor.
1603. Hamlet.
1605. King Lear.
1609. Troilus and Cressida.
Pericles.
1622. Othello.

1623. The following were first printed in the collected edition of Hemings and Condall :—All's Well that Ends Well; Antony and Cleopatra; As You Like It; Comedy of Errors; Coriolanus; Cymbeline; Henry VI., part 1; Henry VIII.; Julius Cæsar; King John; Macbeth; Measure for Measure; The Taming of the Shrew; The Tempest; Timon of Athens; Twelfth Night; Two Gentlemen of Verona; and The Winter's Tale.

THE FOUR FOLIOS AND THE EARLY QUARTO EDITIONS, WITH THEIR RELATIVE VALUES.

THE FIRST EDITION, 1623.

Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies. Published according to the true original copies. London: Printed for Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, folio, price £1. This edition contains 36 plays, for *Pericles* was not printed in any collected edition until the third.

The price of this volume has materially increased since the commencement of the present century. During the latter half of the eighteenth century some 20 copies or more were sold by auction, realising prices ranging from £18 to £50. Most of these copies were wanting in some little particular,—such as a perfect title, the verses of Ben Jonson, or, occasionally, the last leaf, which was supplied in fac-simile. One fine and perfect copy was sold for £85, which, when re-sold in 1847 produced £155. Within the last twenty years the price has gone up considerably, and sums, varying from £250 to £400 have been paid for a fine, tall copy. The highest price ever given for this precious volume was at the sale of Mr. George Daniel's Shakspeare library, in August, 1864, when his copy fetched £716, and was bought for Miss Burdett Coutts, now Baroness Burdett Coutts. This copy was said to be a marvellous volume of unrivalled beauty, and unquestionably the finest one that had been offered for sale. At the sale of the Earl of Charlemont's

library by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, in 1865, a fine copy of this edition, with the exception of the last figure in the date of the title, was knocked down to Mr. Ellis, the bookseller, for £455.

THE SECOND EDITION, 1632.

Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies. Published according to the true original copies. The second impression. London: printed by Thomas Cotes, for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Black Beare, in St. Paule's Churchyard, folio. In the printing of this edition there were several booksellers mixed up with the transaction, so that each one had separate titles worked off with their own names, thus accounting for the various publishers who had a place on the title, such as Hawkins, Smethwick, Aspley and others.

The price of copies of this edition is steadily rising. The great demand for the early folios by Shakspearean critics at home, and also the demand which has arisen among the Americans, who hold the works of Shakespere in very high estimation, combined with the inevitable wear of time, has effected a great change. Good copies thirty years ago could be purchased at prices varying from £10 to £20, but now a fine copy would fetch at least £50, and it is not an unfrequent occurrence to find that price set to a copy in a bookseller's catalogue. In 1848, Mr. Thorpe bought a copy at Neville Holt's sale, which he sold to Mr. George Daniel, at whose sale in 1864 it fetched the remarkable sum of £148.

THE THIRD EDITION, 1663-4.

Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and

Tragedies. Published according to the true original copies. The third impression. London: printed for P. C., folio.

This edition contains seven more plays than the first or second folios, both those editions omitting *Pericles* and the six plays now received as spurious, viz.: *The London Prodigal*; *The History of Thomas, Lord Cromwell*; *Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham*; *The Puritan Widow*; *A Yorkshire Tragedy*; and the *Tragedy of Locrine*. Two distinct impressions exist of this edition, the one bearing date 1663, without the seven plays, printed for Philip Chetwinde, and the other bearing date 1664. Copies of this edition are said to be very scarce, owing to a large number being destroyed in the great fire of London; but this statement is by no means universally believed in. Some of the variations which occur in the text of this edition, have been attributed to Ben. Jonson and John Milton, but this is purely conjecture. Formerly copies of this edition could be bought for £7 or £8, till within the last twelve years, and now a good perfect copy is worth at least £40. Mr. Daniel's copy, a very good one, at his sale realized £46.

THE FOURTH EDITION, 1685.

Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, published according to the true original copies. Unto which is added seven plays, never before printed, in folio, viz.: *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. *The London Prodigal*. *The History of Thomas, Lord Cromwell*. *Sir John Oldecastle, Lord Cobham*. *The Puritan Widow*. *A Yorkshire Tragedy*. *The Tragedy of Locrine*. London: printed for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, R. Chiswell and R. Bentley, at the Anchor,

in the New Exchange; the Crane, in St. Paul's Church-yard; and in Russell Street, Covent Garden.

This edition is but a reprint of the third, with this difference, that it is distinguished by a greater number of errors in its text and by its title. The original portrait of Shakspeare was used for this edition, being re-touched, and was printed on a leaf preceding the title with the verses of Ben. Jonson placed below it. Like the other folio editions, this one has also rose in price, for twenty years ago copies could be bought for £4. or £5. which would now be asked £16. to £20. for. Mr. Daniel's copy at his sale realized £20. 10s.

"The Tragedie of King Richard the Second, as it hath beene publicly acted, by the Right Hon. the Lord Chamberlaine, his seruants." *First edition*, 4to., 1598, was sold at Mr. Daniel's sale for £351. 5s.* A copy of the second edition, the same year, fetched £108. 3s.

"The Tragedie of King Richard the Third, containing his treacherous plots against his brother Clarence; the pittieful murder of his innocent nephews; his tyrannical usurpation, with the whole course of his detested life and most deserved death. As it hath beene lately acted by the Right Hon. the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants." *First edition*, 4to., 1597. Only two or three perfect copies known.

"A Pleasant Concerted Comedie, called Love's Labor's Lost, as it was presented before her Highness this last Christmas, newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakspeare." *The first edition*, 4to., 1598. The finest copy known £346. 10s.

"The History of Henrie the Fourth, with the

* The prices given for each copy are those realized at Mr. George Daniel's sale, in 1864, unless otherwise specified.

Battell at Shrewsburie betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North, with the humororous conceits of Sir John Falstaffe," 4to., 1598. A copy of the *second edition*, 4to., 1599, £115. 10s.

"The Second Part of Henrie the Fourth, continuing to his death, and Coronation of Henrie the Fifth, with the humours of Sir John Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll. As it hath been sundrie times publicly acted by the right honourable, the Lorde Chamberlaine, his seruants." *The first edition*, 4to., £40.

"The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet, as it hath bene sundry times publicely acted, by the Right Hon. the Lord Chamberlaine, his seruants." *The first complete edition*, 4to., 1599, £52. 10s.

"The Chronicle History of Henry the Fifth, with his Battell fought at Agin Court in France, together with Auntient Pistoll, as it hath beene sundry times played by the Right Hon. the Lord Chamberlaine, his seruants." *The first edition*, 4to., 1600, £231.

"The Most Excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice, with the extreame crueltie of Shylocke, the Jew, towards the sayd merchant, in cutting a just pound of his flesh, and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests. As it hath beene divers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine, his seruants." *The first edition*, a very fine copy, 4to., 1600, £94. 10s.

"Much Adoe about Nothing, as it hath been sundrie times publicly acted by the Lord Chamberlaine, his seruants." *The first edition*, 4to., 1600, £267. 15s.

"The Midsommer Night's Dreame, as it hath beene sundry times publicely acted by the Lord Chamberlaine, his seruants." *The first edition*, 4to., 1600, £241. 10s.

A second edition of the above, printed by James Roberts, and published in the same year, 4to., £36.

"A most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedie of Syr John Falstaffe and the Merrie Wives of Windsor, entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing humours of Syr Hugh, the Welch Knight, Justice Shallow, and his wise cousin, Mr. Slender. With the swaggering vaine of Auncient Pistoll and Corporall Nym. As it hath bene divers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants, both before Her Majestie and elsewhere." *The first edition*, 4to., 1602, £346. 10s.

Only three perfect copies are known to exist of this Comedy in the original state that it was placed before her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, at Windsor Castle.

"The True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters, with the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humour of Tom of Bedlam. As it was played before the King's Majestie at Whitehall, vpon S. Stephan's night in Christmas Hollidayes, by his Majestie's seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe on the Banckside." *The first edition*, 4to., 1608, £29. 8s.

"The late and much admired Play, called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true relation of the whole History, Adventures, and Fortunes of the said Prince; as, also, the no lesse strange and worthy accidents in the birth and life of his daughter Mariana, as it hath bene divers and sundry times acted by his Majestie's seruants, at the Gloabe, on the Banckside." *The first edition*, 4to., 1609, £84.

"The Famous History of Troylus and Cresseid. Excellently expressing the beginning of their loves, with

the concerted wooing of Pandarus of Licia." *The first edition*, 4to., 1609, £114. 9s.

"The Tragical History of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. As it hath beene diverse times acted by his Highnesse servants in the Cittie of London; as also in the two Vniversities of Cambridge and Oxford, and elsewhere." *The first edition*, 4to., 1603, £120.

This copy was bought by Mr. Halliwell of Mr. Boone, a bookseller in Dublin, and it is wanting in the title-page. But one other copy is known to be in existence, and that is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. This copy is wanting in the last leaf.

"The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much again as it was, according to the true and perfect copy." *The fifth edition*, 4to., 1611, £28. 7s.

"The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath sundry times beene playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lord Chamberlaine, their seruants." *The second edition*, 4to., 1611. A second copy of the third edition at Mr. Daniel's sale fetched £31. 10s.

"The Tragedy of Othello, the Moore of Venice, as it hath beene diverse times, acted at the Globe, and at the Blackfriars, by his Maiesties servants." *The first edition*, 4to., 1622, £155.

"Venus and Adonis," the *second edition*, 4to., 1594, £240. The *third edition*, 4to., 1596, £315.

"Lucrece," the *first edition*, 4to., £157. 10s.

"The Sonnets," the *first edition*, 4to., £225. 15s.

"The Passionate Pilgrim," 16mo., 1599. But one copy is known to be in existence, and that is among the

Capell collection. Of the second edition no copy is known. In 1612 a third edition was printed by W. Jaggard, in 16mo., to which was added "Two Love Epistles, the first from Paris to Hellen, and Hellen answers backe againe to Paris."



THE OTHER COLLECTED EDITIONS.

Rowe's, 7 vols., 8vo., *plates* 1709

Unfortunately the text of this edition is based upon the fourth folio, the worst text of all the folios, nor did Rowe correct but very few of its errors. To this edition Rowe prefixed a life of Shakspeare, with an account of his writings. The seventh volume contains the Poems, with Critical Remarks upon each of the plays; to which also is prefixed an Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the Stage in Greece, Rome, and England, by C. Gildon.

Rowe's, 9 vols., 12mo., *second edition, plates* 1714

Volume nine contains the same matter in this edition as volume seven of the first.

Pope's, 6 vols., 4to. 1723-25

To this edition a seventh volume was added, with the following title: "The Works of Mr. William Shakespear. The seventh volume containing Venus and Adonis, Tarquin and Lucrece, and Mr. Shakespear's Miscellany Poems. To which is prefix'd, An Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the Stage, in Greece, Rome, and England. And a Glossary of the Old Words us'd in these Works. The whole Revis'd and Corrected, with a Preface, by Dr. Sewell. London: Printed by Darby for Bettesworth."

Pope's, *second edition*, 10 vols., 12mo., *plates* 1728

Pope's, *third edition*, 9 vols., 18mo., *plates* .. 1731

Theobald's, 7 vols., 8vo., *plates* 1733

The plates to this edition are very curious and valuable, for they display the costume of the period and the mode of dressing the characters upon the stage.

Pope's, <i>fourth edition</i> , 8 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i> ..	1735
Theobald's, <i>second edition</i> , 8 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i> ..	1740
Hanmer's, 6 vols., 4to., <i>plates</i>	1740

The text of Hanmer's edition is based upon that of Pope's, and it is even more wild in its conjectural criticism.

Hanmer's, <i>second edition</i> , 6 vols., 4to., <i>plates</i> ..	1743
Hanmer's, <i>third edition</i> , 6 vols., 4to. ..	1744-46
Hanmer's, <i>fourth edition</i> , 6 vols., 8vo. ..	1745
Hanmer's, <i>fifth edition</i> , 9 vols., 18mo., <i>plates</i> ..	1747
Warburton's, 8 vols., 8vo.	1747

The text of this edition, like that of Hanmer's, is also based upon that of Pope's, and is of but little value from a critical point of view.

Pope and Warburton's, 8 vols., 8vo. ..	1747
Oxford edition, 8 vols., 24mo.	1747
Hanmer's, <i>sixth edition</i> , 9 vols., 12mo. ..	1748
Hanmer's, <i>seventh edition</i> , 9 vols., 12mo. ..	1750-51
Theobald's, <i>third edition</i> , 8 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i> ..	1752
Theobald's, <i>fourth edition</i> , 8 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i> ..	1752
Blair's, 8 vols., 12mo. .. .	1753
Hanmer's, <i>eighth edition</i> , 9 vols., 18mo. ..	1760
Blair's, 8 vols., 12mo.	1761
Theobald's, <i>fifth edition</i> , 8 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i> ..	1762
Johnson's, 8 vols., 8vo.	1765

With this edition appeared Johnson's ponderous preface for the first time. At the date of its publication it was universally admired and looked upon as a remarkable effort of Shakspearean criticism. Its popularity has now passed away, for the learned doctor evidently by his work misunderstood the poet, nor had he shaken off the trammels of the classic school. There is but little in the preface to compensate the reader for his trouble.

Pope's, <i>fifth edition</i> , 8 vols., 12mo. ..	1766
Johnson's, <i>second edition</i> , 10 vols., 8vo. ..	1766

Theobald's, <i>sixth edition</i> , 8 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i>	1767
Edinburgh, 10 vols., 12mo. 	1767
Capell's, 10 vols., crown 8vo. 	1767

The text of this edition is said to be printed from that of the first folio and the quartos, for the title runs "Mr. William Shakspeare, his Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, set out by himself in quarto, or by the Players in folio, and now faithfully republished from these editions, in 10 volumes, octavo; with an Introduction. Whereunto will be added in some other volumes, Notes, critical and explanatory, and a body of various readings, entire, by E. Capell." These notes and readings were not published till the year 1779, when they were brought out in quarto. Hartshorne thus remarks on Capell's Introduction: "There is not even among the various publications of the present literary era, a more singular composition than this Introduction. Its style and manner is actually more obsolete and antique than that of the age of which it treats. Taken in combination with the title-page, it gives us, however, a perfect index to the contents of the work: and it began to rouse the attention of scholars, and to interest them in Shakspearean studies."

Pope's, <i>sixth edition</i> , 9 vols., 12mo. 	1768
Johnson's,* <i>second edition</i> , 8 vols., 8vo. 	1768

* The prices which the London booksellers have paid to the different editors of Shakspeare are not generally known. Up to the date of the second edition of Johnson, the prices prove that the poet had enriched those who had impoverished him.

Mr. Rowe was paid	..	..	£36	10	0
„ Hughes	..	..	28	7	0
„ Pope	..	..	217	12	0
„ Fenton	..	..	30	14	0
„ Gay	..	..	35	17	6
„ Whalley	..	..	12	0	0
„ Theobald	..	..	652	10	0
„ Warburton	..	..	560	0	0
„ Capel	..	..	300	0	0
Dr. Johnson, 1st edition	..	..	375	0	0
— — 2nd edition	..	..	100	0	0
			<hr/>		
			£2348	10	6

Besides this amount very considerable sums have been paid to critics without criticism, and commentators without a name.

Blair's, 8 vols., 12mo.	..	..	..	1769
Balfour's, 8 vols., 12mo.	..	..	..	1769
Hanmer's, <i>ninth edition</i> , 6 vols., 4to., <i>plates</i>	..	..	..	1770
Blair's, 8 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1771
Ewing's, 7 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1771
Theobald's, <i>seventh edition</i> , 12 vols., 12mo.	..	..	..	1772
Theobald's, <i>eighth edition</i> , 12 vols., 12mo.	..	..	..	N.D.
Theobald's, <i>ninth edition</i> , 8 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	..	1773
Johnson and Steevens, 10 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1773

"This edition, in which were united the native powers of Dr. Johnson, with the activity, sagacity, and antiquarian learning of George Stevens, superseded all previous editions and became the standard for future editors and publishers."

Bell's, Stage Edition, *with scene and character*

plates, 8 vols., 8vo. 1777-75

This edition is said to be "the worst ever published"; nevertheless it had more success than any of its predecessors, 8,000 copies being sold in one week. It was edited by the authors of the Dramatic Censor, and contained Notes, Illustrative and Critical, and an Essay on Oratory and Dramatic Performances.

Bell's, 9 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	..	1774
Johnson and Steevens, <i>second edition</i> , 10 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1778
Bathurst's, 12 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1778-80
Ayscough's, royal 8vo.	..	..	..	1784
Johnson and Steevens', <i>third edition</i> , edited by Reed, 10 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1785
Nicols', 7 vols., 12mo.	..	..	..	1786
Rann's, 6 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1786-94
Bell's, <i>second edition</i> , 11 vols., 18mo., <i>with scene and character plates</i>	..	..	..	1786-8
Bell's, <i>third edition</i> , 20 vols., 18mo., <i>with scene and character plates</i>	..	..	..	1788
Ayscough's, 2 vols., royal 8vo.	..	..	..	1790

Malone's, 10 vols., 8vo. 1790

This edition was reputed to be the best at the time of its publication. It contained the corrections and illustrations of other commentators who had preceded Malone. The text was carefully revised from the most authentic copies. It also contained an essay on the chronological order of Shakspeare's plays; an essay relative to Shakspeare and Ben Jonson; a dissertation on the three parts of King Henry VI., and an historical account of the English Stage. The reputation which Malone acquired in his time of being a careful and painstaking editor, if not a brilliant one, has been briskly attacked by Dr. Symonds, a recent biographer of Shakspeare. The learned doctor says of Malone, "Neither the indulgent fancy of Pope, nor the fondness for innovation in Hanmer, nor the arrogant and headlong self-confidence of Warburton, has inflicted such cruel wounds on the text of Shakspeare as the assuming dulness of Malone. Barbarism and broken rhythm dog him at the heels wherever he treads."

Bellamy and Harrison's, 8 vols., 8vo., *plates* .. 1791
 Ayscough's, 2 vols., royal 8vo. 1792
 Johnson and Steeven's, *fourth edition*, edited by
 Reed, 15 vols., 8vo. 1793
 Malone's, 10 vols., 12mo. 1794
 Blair's, 8 vols., 8vo., Edinburgh 1795
 Blair's, 8 vols., 8vo., Glasgow 1795
 Johnson's, Philadelphia, *first American edition*,
 8 vols., 8vo. 1795-6
 Bellamy and Robert's, 8 vols., 8vo., with 74
 character and scenic engravings and 6
 allegorical plates, by various artists .. 1796
 Edinburgh, 8 vols., 12mo. 1797
 Robinson's, 7 vols., imperial 8vo. 1797
 Longman's, 6 vols., 8vo. 1797
 Steevens', 8 vols., 12mo. 1797
 Nichols', 9 vols., 18mo. 1798
 Ogilvie's, 9 vols., 12mo. 1798
 Baldwin's, 9 vols., 12mo. 1798

Nichols', with prefaces to each play, 9 vols., 12mo.,	1798
Reed's, Basel's, 23 vols., 8vo.	1799
Brunswick, 8 vols., 8vo.	1799
„ with prefaces to each play, 9 vols., 18mo.	1800
Bensley and Harding's, <i>plates</i> , by T. Stothard, R.A., 12 vols., 18mo.	1800
Sharpe's, <i>miniature edition</i> , 9 vols., 24mo. ..	1800
Reed's, <i>with woodcuts</i> , 12 vols., 12mo. ..	1800
Zurich, 8 vols., 8vo.	1801
Boydell's, illustrated, 9 vols., atlas folio, 2 vols. of <i>plates</i> extra	1802

This edition is illustrated by 101 engravings from pictures of the most eminent British artists of the period. The brushes of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Fuseli, Romney, Northcote, Smirke, Peters, Hodges, Hamilton, Stothard and others were employed in the designs for this edition. A smaller edition in folio, the plates reduced to a corresponding size, was afterwards published.

Boydell's, small folio, 9 vols., <i>plates</i> ..	1802
Johnson and Stevens', <i>fifth edition</i> , edited by Reed, 21 vols., 8vo.	1803
Sharpe's, 9 vols., 24mo.	1803
Steevens', Glossarial Notes, 20 vols., 8vo. ..	1803
Johnson and Steevens', 9 vols., 12mo. ..	1803
Scholey's, <i>with woodcuts</i> , by Thurston, 10 vols., 8vo.	1804
Bell's, 20 vols., 18mo., <i>plates</i>	1804
Steevens', Leipzig, 20 vols., 12mo. ..	1804
Turnbull, Edinburgh, 9 vols., 12mo. ..	1804
Chalmers', 9 vols., 8vo.	1805
Chalmers', 10 vols., 18mo.	1805
Miller's, Edinburgh, 2 vols., royal 8vo. ..	1806

Manley Wood's, 14 vols., 8vo., <i>illustrated with</i> 72 plates	1806
Ayscough's, <i>third edition</i> , 2 vols., royal 8vo.	1807
Scholey's, <i>second edition</i> , woodcuts, 10 vols., 8vo.	1807
Ballantyne's, 12 vols., 8vo.	1807
Stockdale's, 6 vols., 4to.	1807
A reprint of the first folio	1807

This edition was printed by J. Wright, St. John's Square, London, and the paper was made specially, having the word "Shakespeare" in the water-mark, in addition to the maker's name and the date (1806).

Crutwell's, 4 vols., 12mo.	1807
Boston, U.S., 9 vols., 8vo.	1807
Longman's, 12 vols., 8vo.	1807
Reed's, Philadelphia, 17 vols., 8vo.	1807
Reed's, Hood and Vernor, 12 vols., 12mo., <i>wood-</i> <i>cuts</i>	1809
Sharpe's, 9 vols., 24mo.	1810
Chalmers', 9 vols., 8vo.	1811
Chalmers', Glossarial Notes, 10 vols., 18mo.	1811
Reed's, Cowrie and Co., 12 vols., 12mo.	1811
Steevens', 8 vols., 12mo.	1811
Walker's, 8 vols., 12mo.	1811
Reed's, 9 vols., 12mo.	1811
Steevens', Nichols and Son, 8 vols., 24mo., <i>il-</i> <i>lustrated with 16 engravings after T. Uwins</i>	1811
Chalmers', 9 vols., 8vo.	1812
Reed's, Tegg, 12 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i>	1812-15
Johnson, Steevens, Reed and Malone's, 21 vols., 8vo.	1813
Reed's, Boston, U.S., 6 vols., 12mo.	1813
Reed's, Cowie, 12 vols., 12mo.	1814

Steevens', Vienna, 20 vols., 12mo.	..	1814
Whittingham, 7 vols., 18mo., with 230 <i>woodcuts</i>		
<i>by Thurston</i>	.. ..	1814
Malone's, 16 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1816
Reed's, Edinburgh, 9 vols., 12mo.	..	1817
Reed's, New York, 10 vols., 12mo.	..	1817
Chalmers', 9 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1818
Rowe's, 8vo.	.. ..	1818
Whittingham's, 7 vols., 18mo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	1818
Whittingham's, 9 vols., 18mo.	..	1818
Bowdler's, Family Edition, 10 vols., 18mo.	..	1818

This is the first complete edition of Shakspeare's works in which those words and expressions are omitted which might cause pain or embarrassment while reading aloud to the family circle. The Quarterly Review thus speaks of the merits of this edition: "Among the most extraordinary attempts at moral improvement, none, perhaps, is better calculated to excite a sarcastic smile than the publication of a "Family Shakspeare," from which all objectionable passages are expunged. This is Jack tearing off the lace from Lord Peter's coat, with a vengeance."

Bowdler's, 8vo.	.. ..	1818
Rowe's, with Life, 8vo.	.. ..	1819
Reed's, Hurst, 12mo.	.. ..	1819
Reed's, Hurst, 2 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1819
Allason's, 9 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1819
Bowdler's, Family Edition, 10 vols., 18mo.	..	1820
Bowdler's, 8vo.	.. ..	1820
Bell's, 20 vols., 18mo.	.. ..	1820
Reed's, 12 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1820
Johnson, Steevens, Reed and Malone's, <i>seventh</i>		
<i>edition</i> , edited by Boswell, 21 vols., 8vo.		1821
Black and Co's., 3 vols., 12mo., <i>vignettes</i>	..	1821
Reed's, 12 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1821
Bowdler's, Family Edition, 8 vols., 8vo.	..	1822

Bowdler's, ditto, 10 vols., 12mo.	1822
Pickering's, 9 vols., 48mo., <i>plates after Stothard</i>	1822
Mason's, 8vo.	1822
Chalmer's, 8 vols., 8vo., <i>plates</i>	1823
Steeven's, 10 vols., 12mo.	1823
Johnson and Steevens, 9 vols., 18mo., <i>Thurston's illustrations</i>	1823
Steevens', 8vo.	1823
Whittingham's, 12mo.	1823
Sherwin's, 8vo.	1823
Mason's, 8vo.	1823
Reed's, 12 vols., 8vo.	1823
Johnson's, 8vo.	1823
Steevens', 10 vols., 8vo.	1824
Wheeler's, 8vo.	1824
Harness', 8 vols., 8vo.	1825
Harvey's, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	1825
Singer's, 11 vols., 8vo.	1825
Bowdler's, 10 vols., 12mo.	1825
Pickering's, 9 vols., 48mo., <i>plates after Stothard</i>	1825
Pickering's, foolscap 8vo., <i>plates after Stothard</i>	1825
Balne's, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	1825
Reed's, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	1825
Chalmers', 8vo.	1826
Chalmers', 8 vols., 8vo.	1826
Singer's, 10 vols., foolscap 8vo., 60 <i>woodcuts</i>	1826
Steevens', 8vo.	1826
Steevens', Leipzig, royal 8vo., with Life by Skottowe	1826
Sir W. Scott's, Constable, 8vo., vols. 2, 3 and 4	1826

The above volumes are in the Public Library at Boston, United States, and they form part of an edition of Shakspeare's works, which Sir Walter Scott, in 1822, undertook to edit at the suggestion of

Constable, his publisher. The edition was to have been in twelve or fourteen volumes, only three of which were printed before the failure of the great house of Constable took place. The sheets of these volumes were afterwards sold in London for waste paper. The introductory volume upon which the labours of Sir Walter were to be principally confined was never printed. These volumes have no title pages nor general introduction. The second volume contains *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour Lost*, and *The Merchant of Venice*; the third, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *As you Like It* and *Much Ado about Nothing*; the fourth, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, and *Twelfth Night*.

Bowdler's, 8 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1827
Wheeler's, 8vo.	..	..	..	1827
Tegg's, 8vo., 1827	..	..	..	1827
Carpenter's, 8 vols., 12mo., <i>vignettes</i>			..	1827
Steevens', Philadelphia, 2 vols., 8vo.			..	1828
Whittingham's, 8 vols., 32mo., <i>vignettes</i>			..	1828
Whittingham's, 12mo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..		..	1828
Bowdler's, 8 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1828
Singer's, Frankfort, 10 vols., 12mo.			..	1828
Wheeler's, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	..	..	1829
Reed's, Frankfort, 8vo.	..	..	..	1830
Whittingham's, 12mo., <i>woodcuts</i>		..	..	1830
Tieck's, Leipzig, royal 8vo.		..	..	1830
Harness', 8 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1830
Wheeler's, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	..	..	1830
Pickering's, 12mo.	..	..	..	1831
Reed's, 8vo.	..	..	..	1831
Bowdler's, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	..	..	1831
Bowdler's, New York, 8vo.		..	..	N.D.
Johnson and Steevens', 8vo.		..	..	1831
Johnson and Steevens', 12mo.		..	..	1831
Wheeler's, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	..	1832
Jones', with Rowe's Preface and Life, 8vo.		..	..	1832

Steevens', 8vo.	183
Valpy's, Cabinet Edition, 15 vols., foolscap 8vo., 171 <i>illustrations</i>	183
The text of this edition is a very faulty one.	
Chalmers', 8vo.	183
Harness', imperial 4to., <i>plates</i>	183
Wivell's, royal 8vo., <i>plates</i>	N.D
Wheeler's, 8vo.	183
Scott's, 8 vols., 8vo., <i>plates</i>	183
Harness', Select Notes, &c., 8 vols, 8vo.	183
Reed's, with Supplement by Tieck, imperial 8vo.	183
Singer's, Halle, 10 vols., 12mo.	183
Wheeler's, 8vo.	183
Clark's, Magnet edition, 5 vols., 18mo.	183
Singer's, New York, 2 vols., 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	183
Johnson's, medium 8vo.	183
Reed's, Paris, 8vo.	183
Conner's, New York, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	183
Valpy's, Cabinet Edition, 15 vols., foolscap 8vo., 171 <i>illustrations</i>	183
Harness', 8vo., 40 <i>plates</i>	183
Tegg's, 8vo.	183
Tilt's, 12mo., <i>illustrations</i>	183
Cunningham's, 12mo., <i>plates</i>	183
Chalmers', 8 vols., 8vo.	183
Symon's, Leipzig, royal 8vo., 270 <i>woodcuts</i>	183
Symon's, Berlin, 8vo., 60 <i>plates</i>	183
Mason's, 8vo.	183
Reed's, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	183
Chalmers', 8vo.	183
Campbell's, royal 8vo.	183
Shortrede's, Edinburgh, 12mo., <i>plates</i>	183

Longman's, 8vo.	1838
Tilt's, 8 vols., 32mo., <i>woodcuts</i>	N.D.
Symons', Berlin, 8 vols., 32mo.	1838
Harness', 8vo.	1838
Reed's, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	1838
Knight's Pictorial, 8 vols., royal 8vo., with <i>illustrations</i> , historical and topographical	1838-43

The text of this edition is founded upon the first folio, to which Mr. Knight was too exclusively attached. At the date of its publication, it was, however, looked upon as being the best edition published. It was enriched with illustrations, a Life of Shakspeare, the whole of the doubtful Plays, and a History of opinion relative to Shakspeare. The object of its editor was to produce an edition, "That should address itself to the popular understanding in a spirit of enthusiastic love, and not of captious and presumptuous cavelling;—with a sincere zeal for the illustration of the text, rather than a desire to parade the stores of useless learning;—and offering a sober and liberal examination of conflicting opinions among the host of critics, in the hope of unravelling the perplexed, clearing up the obscure, and enforcing the beautiful, instead of prolonging those fierce and ridiculous controversies, which, always offensive, are doubly disagreeable in connexion with the works of the most tolerant and expansive mind that ever lifted us out of the region of petty hostilities and prejudices."—*Knight's Original Prospectus*.

Bogue's, 8 vols., 32mo., <i>woodcuts</i>	1839
Maunder's, 8vo.	1859
Fisher's, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	1839
Barry Cornwall's, <i>illustrated</i> by Kenny Meadows, 3 vols., imperial 8vo.	1839-43
Valpy's, 15 vols., foolscap 8vo., <i>plates</i>	1840
Maunder's, 8vo.	1840
Chalmer's, Leipzig, royal 8vo.	1840
Bohn's, 8vo.	1840
Pierre's, Frankfort, with historical and gram- matical Notes, 8 vols., 12mo.	1840
Whittingham's, 12mo.	1841

Lewis', 14 vols., 8vo.	..	..	1841
Glasgow, 8vo.	..	..	1841
Glasgow, Bonestein, 12mo.	..	..	1841
Collier's, John Payne, 8 vols., 8vo.	..	..	1841

This edition contains a History of the Stage to the time of Shakspeare, a Life of the Poet, Introductions to each of the plays, notes and new readings. The substance of the notes is derived from preceding editors, whose labours relative to the text have been wholly disregarded by Mr. Collier. The text is partly founded upon the first folio,—that volume, for one-half the plays, furnishing the most authentic text, while the other half is derived from a careful examination and collation of the early quartos.

Harness', royal 8vo., 40 <i>plates</i>	..	..	1842
Johnson's, 8vo.	..	..	1842
Maunder's, 8vo.	..	..	1842
Harness', 8vo.	..	..	1842
Knight's Library Edition, 12 vols., 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>			1842

The text of this edition has the benefit of Mr. Knight's collation of the matchless collection of quarto copies in the Bodleian Library and British Museum.

Paris, Baudry, 10 vols., 8vo.	..	..	1842
Reed's, Leipzig, 2 vols., 8vo., <i>steel and wood engravings</i>	..	..	1842
Schumann, Leipzig, 8 vols., 16mo.		..	1842
Bowdler's, 8vo.	..	..	1843
Chittley's, 8vo.	..	..	1843
Singer's, Halle, 10 vols., 12mo.		..	1843
Knight's, Cabinet Edition, 11 vols., 18mo., <i>with Portraits and other Illustrations</i>	..		1843
Collier's, Leipzig, 7 vols., 18mo.		..	1843
Knight's, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	..	1844
Peabody's, Boston, U.S., 7 vols., 8vo.		..	1844
Verplanch's, New York, 3 vols., 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>			1844
Knight's, Cabinet Edition, 12 vols., 18mo., <i>with Portraits and other Illustrations</i> . The last			

volume contains a History of opinion relative to Shakspeare	.. ..	1844
Chalmer's, 12mo., <i>plates</i>	.. ..	1845
Knight's, Pictorial Edition, <i>second edition</i> , 8 vols., royal 8vo.	.. ..	1845
Stebbing's, royal 8vo., <i>plates</i>	.. ..	1845
Pitman's, 8vo.	.. ..	1845
Chalmer's, 8vo.	.. ..	1846
Barry Cornwall's, illustrated by Kenny Meadows, <i>second edition</i> , with 36 extra etchings, 3 vols., royal 8vo.	.. ..	1846
Orr's, 12mo.	.. ..	1846
Chalmer's, 8 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1847
Bowdler's, royal 8vo.	.. ..	1847
Johnson's, Steevens and Malone's, with Glos- sarial Notes, a Sketch of the Author and Introductory Observations to each Play, 8vo.	.. ..	1847
Nelson's, Edinburgh, 8vo.	.. ..	1847
Verplanch's, New York, 3 vols., royal 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	.. ..	1847
Knight's, Standard Edition, 7 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1847
Steevens', 8vo.	.. ..	1847
Knight's, Cabinet Edition, 12 vols., 18mo.	.. ..	1847
Routledge's, with Life, by Rowe, 8vo.	.. ..	1848
Campbell's, royal 8vo.	.. ..	1848
Chalmers', Diamond Type, 12mo., with 40 <i>outline engravings</i>	.. ..	1848
Steevens', Burns, 12mo.	.. ..	1848
Chalmer's, 8vo.	.. ..	1849
Barry Cornwall's, illustrated by Kenny Meadows, <i>third edition</i> , 3 vols., imperial 8vo.	.. ..	1849
Steevens', Philadelphia, 2 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1849

Bowdler's, 8vo.	..	..	..	1849
Campbell's, royal 8vo.	..	..	..	1850
Steevens', 8vo.	..	..	..	1850
Halliwell's, 4 vols., imperial 8vo., illustrated by 100 <i>plates and photographs</i>			..	1850-51

This edition contains historical and analytical introductions to each play, notes, critical and explanatory, a Life of the Poet, and the text is based upon a careful revision of the original editions.

Knight's, National Edition, 6 vols., 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>				1851
Nelson's, Edinburgh, 8vo.	..	..		1851
Knight's, Cabinet Edition, 12 vols., 18mo.	..			1851
Halliwell's, New York, 8vo.	..	..		1851
Lansdowne's, 8vo.	..	..	..	1851
Steevens', 8vo.	..	..	..	1851
Hudson's, Boston, U.S., 11 vols., 8vo., <i>vignettes</i>				1851
Phelps', 2 vols., royal 8vo., <i>plates</i>			..	1851
Hazlitt's, 4 vols., 12mo.	..	..		1851
Steevens', Philadelphia, 12mo.			..	1851
Maunders', 8vo.	..	..	..	1851
Johnson's, 8vo.	..	..	..	1851
Nelson's, Edinburgh, 8vo.	..	..		1851
Lembird's, with Life and Notes by Rowe, 8vo., <i>portrait and vignette</i>	..	..		N.D.
Smith's, Philadelphia, 8vo., <i>plates</i>			..	1852
Cunningham's, Daly, 12mo., <i>plates</i>			..	1852
Cunningham's, Daly, 8 vols., 32mo.			..	1852
Bowdler's, 6 vols., 12mo.	..	..		1852
Campbell's, royal 8vo.	..	..		1852
Knight's, royal 8vo.	..	..	..	1852
Barry Cornwall's, <i>with a part of the illustrations</i> by <i>Kenny Meadows</i> , 2 vols., imperial 8vo.				1852
Lansdowne's, 8vo., printed in red and black				1852

This, like the Bowdler edition, is an expurgated one, the supposed naughty words and sentences being left out by its over delicate editor.

Phelps', illustrated with thirty-eight engravings, by T. H. Nicholson, 2 vols., 8vo.	..	1852
Chalmers', 8vo.	.. ..	1853
Knight's, National Edition, 6 vols., 8vo., <i>second</i> <i>edition, woodcuts</i>	.. ..	1853
Barry Cornwall's, 8vo.	.. ..	1853
Bowdler's, 6 vols., foolscap 8vo.	..	1853
Collier's, 8 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1853

A supplemental volume was published in the same year to the this edition, containing the Notes and Emendations from early manuscript corrections in a copy of the folio of 1632, in the possession of the editor. These corrections formed the basis of the celebrated Collier controversy, which for some years raged with no small amount of temper and spleen between the disputants. The number of emendations was nearly 20,000, many of them had been made before, and very few were accepted as genuine.

Collier's, New York, 8 vols., 8vo.	.. ..	1853
Collier's, New York, 8vo.	.. ..	1853
Collier's, Whittaker, 8vo.	.. ..	1853
Collier's, Leipzig, 4to.	.. ..	1853
Simpkins, Halifax, 8vo.	.. ..	1853
Bohn's, 8vo.	.. ..	1853
Lansdowne, 8vo., printed in black and red	..	1853
Hazlitt's, 5 vols., 12mo.	.. ..	1853

The fifth volume contains the doubtful plays.

Jewitt's, New York, 8vo.	.. ..	1853
Halliwell's, 4 vols., imperial 8vo., <i>plates</i>	..	1853
Halliwell's, 15 vols., folio	.. ..	1853-61

The text of this edition is formed from a new collation of the early editions, to which is added the original novels and tales on which the plays are founded: copious Archæological Annotations on each Play, an Essay on the Formation of the Text, and a Life of the Poet. The illustrations are by F. W. Fairholt. Only 150 copies were printed of this edition, some few thereof being proof impressions of the plates on India paper. The plates and blocks were all destroyed after the above number was printed.

Chalmers, 8vo.	..	..	..	1854
Dale's, 8 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1854
Delius, Elberfield, 7 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1854
Philadelphia, 8vo.	..	..	..	1854
Rowe's, Routledge, 8vo.	..	..	..	1854
Knight's, Stratford Edition, 10 vols., 12mo.	..	..	..	1854-56
New York, 4to., <i>portraits of actors</i>	..	..	..	1855
Steevens', Tegg, 8vo.	..	..	..	1855
Singer's, 10 vols., foolscap 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	..	..	1855-6

In this edition the text has been most carefully revised. A Life of the Poet and Critical Essays on each Play written by W. W. Lloyd, have been added.

Chalmers, 8 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1856
Nelson, London, 8vo.	..	..	..	1856
Rowe's, Routledge, 8vo.	..	..	..	1856
Knight's, Cabinet Edition, 12 vols., 18mo.	..	..	..	1856
Griffin's, London, 8vo.	..	..	..	1856
Halliwell's, 8vo.	..	..	..	1856
Valpy's, 15 vols., foolscap 8vo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	..	1857
Knight's, Companion Edition, 3 vols., crown 8vo.	..	..	..	1857
Knight's, Student Edition, 6 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1857
Phelps', 2 vols., 8vo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	..	1857
Ward and Lock, 8vo.	..	..	..	1857
Knight's, 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	..	..	1857
Knight's, Stratford Edition, 10 vols., foolscap 8vo.	..	..	..	1857
Dyce's, 6 vols., 8vo.	..	..	..	1857
White's, Boston, U. S., 12 vols., crown 8vo.	..	..	..	1857-66

The plays in this edition are edited from the folio of 1623, with various readings from other editions, including 117 emendations from J. P. Collier's corrected folio of 1632. It also contains introductory remarks to each play, an historical sketch of the text and a Life of the Poet.

Campbell's, royal 8vo.	1858
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Knight's, National Edition, 6 vols., 8vo., <i>wood-</i> <i>cuts</i>	1858
Barry Cornwall's, illustrated by Kenny Meadows, 3 vols., imperial 8vo. ..	1858
Halliwell's, imperial 8vo.	1858
Collier's, 6 vols., 8vo.	1858
Phelps', 2 vols., royal 8vo., <i>plates</i>	1858
Lansdowne's, printed in red and black, 8vo.	1858
Lansdowne's, with <i>Stothard's plates</i> ..	1858
Reed's, Tegg and Griffin, 8vo.	1858
Halifax, Milner and Sowerby, 8vo. ..	1858
Staunton's, 3 vols., imperial 8vo., illustrated by Sir John Gilbert, A.R.A. ..	1858-60
Bowdler's, royal 8vo.	1859
Johnson's, 8vo.	1859
Knight's, Pictorial Edition, 8 vols., royal 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	1859
Knight's, royal 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	1859
Hazlitt's, 5 vols., 12mo.	1859
Steevens', Tegg, 12mo.	1859
Johnson's, Bohn, 8vo.	1859
Phelps', in 38 numbers, 8vo.	N. D.
Bowdler's, royal 8vo, <i>woodcuts</i>	1860
Bowdler's, 6 vols, 12mo.	1860
Knight's, Stratford Edition, 6 vols., 12mo. ..	1860
Griffin and Co., 8vo.	1860
Campbell's, Routledge, royal 8vo. ..	1860
Clarke's, Mrs. Mary Cowden, Appleton, New York, imperial 8vo., with illustrations of the principal female characters by Kenny Mea- dows, Hayter, Bostock, Fisher, Stephanoff, C. Leslie, R.A., Corbould, Herbert, R.A., Chalons, R.A., Fields and Parris; also <i>por-</i> <i>trait</i> and <i>vignette</i>	1860

Delius, Elberfield, 7 vols., 8vo.	1860
Collier's, Boston, U.S., 8 vols., 8vo.	1860
Hazlitt's, 5 vols., 12mo.	1860
Griffin and Co., Family Edition, 8vo.	1860
Bell's, Manchester, 8vo.	1861
Griffin and Co., 8vo.	1861
Johnson's, with observations on each play, 8vo.	1861
Steevens', Tegg, 12mo.	1861
Griffin and Co., Family Edition, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	1861
Knight's, Stratford Edition, 6 vols., 12mo.	1861
Carruther's and W. Chambers', 10 vols., crown 8vo., <i>illustrated by Keeley Halswelle</i>	1861-3

This is another of the moral and delicate editions of Shakspeare, in which the whole of the so-called objectionable words and passages are omitted.

Pitman's, 8vo.	1862
Steevens and Malone's, 8vo.	1862
Campbell's, Routledge, imperial 8vo., <i>illustrated</i>	1862
Knight's, Stratford Edition, 6 vols., 12mo.	1862
Macmillan's, 12mo.	1862
Steevens', Rivington's, 8vo.	1862
Phelps', <i>with coloured illustrations</i> , by Hablot K. Browne, 2 vols., royal 8vo.	N.D.
Staunton's, Library Edition, 4 vols., 8vo.	1863
Clarke's, Mr. and Mrs. Cowden, Library Edition, 4 vols., 8vo.	1863
Clarke's, Mr. and Mrs., royal 8vo.	1863
Nelson's, with Life and Glossary, 8vo., <i>illustrated</i>	1863
Bowdler's, 8vo.	1863
Hudson's, Boston, U.S., 11 vols., 12mo.	1863
London, 8vo.	1863
Staunton's, <i>illustrated by Sir John Gilbert</i> , A.R.A., 3 vols., imperial 8vo.	1863-6

Clarke and Wright's, Cambridge Edition, 9 vols.,

8vo. 1863-6

The editors of this edition have made it a useful one by the feature they have introduced of giving the various readings and emendations that have been suggested, at the foot of every page. This is a source of advantage to the general reader, who can thus obtain in a ready manner a complete acquaintance with the many critics whose "study evermore is overshot." Of the value of the text of this edition, the Quarterly Review, thus remarks:—"Considering the circumstances of its publication and the learning and critical accomplishments of the editors, it is a kind of literary problem indeed, how it comes to pass that the text of this edition is so extremely defective."

Dyce's, 9 vols., royal 8vo. 1863-7

The text of this edition is probably the best extant. Its editor possessed a complete knowledge of Shakspearean literature, and was thoroughly familiar with all the essentials to illustrate and correct the text. It is a great improvement upon his former edition, and completely demonstrates the soundness of his judgment and the fulness of his critical sagacity.

Clarke's, Mr. and Mrs. Cowden, *illustrated by*

Selous, 3 vols., imperial 8vo. 1864-8

Mansell's, 12mo. 1864

Knight's, Stratford Edition, 6 vols., 12mo.,

illustrated 1864

Ireland's, 8vo. 1864

Dick's, crown 8vo., *woodcuts* 1864

Upwards of 300,000 copies of this edition have been sold.

Chalmers', Cincinnati, 8vo., *plates* 1864

Barry Cornwall's, 3 vols., 8vo., *plates* 1864

Nimmo's, small 8vo. 1864

Knight's Pictorial Edition, corrected and revised,

8 vols., 8vo., *illustrated* 1864

The Reference Shakspeare, edited by J. R. Marsh,

small 4to. 1864

This is the first Reference Shakspeare ever published, and con-

tains 372 subjects, illustrated by 6,504 separate passages, which are connected by a total of 11,600 references.

Nimmo's, 2 vols., 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	..	1864
Nimmo's, 2 vols., 8vo., <i>red line edition</i>	..	..	1864
Keightley's, 6 vols., 16mo., <i>Elvezir edition</i>	..	..	1864
Keightley's, super-royal 8vo.	..	..	1864
Lea's, 8 vols., small 8vo.	..	..	1864
Delius', Elberfeld, 7 vols., 8vo.	..	..	1864
Dick's, crown 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	..	..	1864
Bell's, H. G., 6 vols., foolscap 8vo.	..	..	1864
Bell's, H. G., imperial 8vo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	1864
Gall and English, Edinburgh, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	1864
Gall and English, 2 vols., 12mo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	1864
Steevens', Tegg, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	..	..	1864
Clarke, Mr. and Mrs., 4 vols., 8vo.	..	..	1864
Clarke, Mr. and Mrs., 8vo.	..	..	1864
Hazlitt's, 5 vols., 12mo.	..	..	1864
Dick's, Edinburgh, 2 vols., 8vo.	..	..	1864
Dick's, Edinburgh, 8vo.	..	..	1864
The Avon Shakspeare, 8vo.	..	..	1864
Bell's, Warne, 8vo.	..	..	1864
Booth's Reprint of the First Folio, in 3 parts,			
foolscap 4to., part 1, Comedies	..	..	1862
,, 2, Histories	..	..	1863
,, 3, Tragedies	..	..	1864
Booth's Reprint, folio	..	..	1864
Staunton's Facsimilie of the first folio by Photo-			
lithography, folio	..	..	1865
The Globe Shakspeare, edited by J. Clarke and			
Wright, super-royal 18mo.	..	..	1864

The text of this edition is the same as the text of the Cambridge edition. The work is well printed and it is really a marvel of cheapness. Twenty thousand copies were printed of this edition, and the whole number was subscribed for by the trade within two days after publication.

The Globe Shakspeare, <i>second edition</i> , super-royal 8vo.	1865
Bowdler's, 8vo.	1865
Bowdler's, 6 vols., foolscap 8vo.	1865
The Guinea Library Shakspeare, containing the Plays and Poems, edited by Mr. and Mrs. C. Clarke, 4 vols., 8vo.	1865
The Globe Shakspeare, <i>third edition</i> (30,000), super-royal 18mo.	1865
Hazlitt's, 5 vols., 12mo.	1865-7
Keightley's, 6 vols., 18mo.	1865
Bell's, 6 vols., 8vo.	1865
Collier's, New York, 8 vols., 8vo.	1865
The Globe Shakspeare, <i>fourth edition</i> (20,000), super-royal 18mo.	1866
Campbell's, royal 8vo., <i>woodcuts</i>	1866
Milner and Sowerby's, 8vo.	1866
Duyckinck's, Philadelphia, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	1866
Knight's, National Edition, 8 vols., 8vo. <i>illustrated</i>	1866
The Handy-Volume Shakspeare, 13 vols., 32mo.	1866-7
Dick's, Shilling Shakspeare, crown 8vo., in a wrapper, <i>illustrated</i>	1866

Of this edition more than 700,000 copies have been sold.

The Blackfriars Shakspeare, crown 8vo.	1866
Knight's, Stratford Shakspeare, 6 vols., small 8vo.	1866
Bell's, royal 8vo.	1866
The Globe Shakspeare, <i>fifth edition</i> , in five parts, super-royal 18mo.	1866
Nimmo's, royal 8vo.	1866
Keightley's, 6 vols., 18mo.	1866
Keightley's, royal 8vo.	1867
Knight's Blackfriars, crown 8vo.	1867
Valpy's, 15 vols., 8vo., <i>plates</i>	1867

Duyckinck's, Philadelphia, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	..	1867
Handy Volume Edition, Boston, U.S., 13 vols.,		
32mo.	.. .. .	1867
Collier's, 6 vols., 8vo.	.. .. .	1868
Collier's, super-royal 8vo.	.. .. .	1868
Keightley's Pocket Shakspeare, 13 vols., royal		
32mo.	.. .. .	1868
Knight's Shilling Shakspeare, foolscap 8vo.	..	1868

This edition, consisting of 100,000 copies, is said to have been wholly taken up by the trade within a week of the day of its publication.

Griffin and Co., 8vo.	.. .. .	1868
Keightley's, 7 vols., 16mo.	.. .. .	1868
The Chandos Shakspeare, foolscap 8vo.	..	1868
Knight's, Routledge, foolscap 8vo., illustrated		
by Sir John Gilbert, A.R.A.	..	1868
Singer's, 10 vols., 12mo.	.. .. .	1868
Knight's, royal 8vo., <i>illustrated</i>	.. .. .	1869
Staunton's, 8 vols., 8vo., <i>with portrait</i>	..	1869
Dyce's, Leipzig, 7 vols., foolscap 8vo.	..	1869
Campbell's, royal 8vo., <i>illustrated</i>	.. .. .	1869
Knight's Shilling Shakspeare, foolscap 8vo.	..	1869
Knight's Pictorial Edition, 8 vols., 8vo.	..	1871
The Globe Shakspeare, royal 18mo.	.. .. .	1871
Delius, Elberfeld, 7 vols., 8vo.	.. .. .	1871
Gall and English, 8vo., <i>plates</i>	.. .. .	1871
Hudson's, Boston, U.S., 2 vols., 8vo.	..	1871
Furness', New Variorum edition, Philadelphia,		
only two volumes published, containing		
Macbeth and Romeo and Juliet	..	1871-3
Knight's, royal 8vo., <i>illustrated</i>	.. .. .	1872
Knight's, Imperial Shakspeare, 4 vols., imperial		
4to.	.. .. .	1872-4

The text of this edition was thoroughly revised by the late

Charles Knight, and his daughter has undertaken to correct all the sheets for the press. It is illustrated with steel engravings from pictures by celebrated modern artists, embracing examples of Sir E. Landseer, Leslie, Mulready, Maclise, Marks, Frith, Orchardson, Frost, Ward, Pettie, Stone, T. Graham, Boughton, Alma-Tadema, Sir J. Gilbert, Pott, Bromley and others.

Staunton's, 6 vols., 8vo. 	1873
Bowdler's, royal 8vo., 12 <i>steel engravings</i> ..	1873
Cowden Clarke's, Library edition, with Life, but without Notes, 4 vols., 8vo. ..	1873
Cowden Clarke's, 3 vols., large 4to., <i>illustrated</i> <i>by Selous</i>	1874
The Boydell Shakspeare, edited by Mr. and Mrs. Cowden Clarke, with Life and Glossary, 2 vols., royal 8vo., <i>illustrated with 67 pictures</i> selected from the Boydell Gallery, in per- manent photography 	1874
Staunton's reprint of the first folio, small folio	1874
Staunton's reprint of the first folio, large folio	1874

The total number of corrected editions of the works published in English from and including the first folio, 1623, to the middle of the year 1874, is 488.



EDITIONS OF SELECTIONS OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.



Twenty of the Plays of Shakspeare, being the whole number printed in quarto, during his life time, or before the Restoration; collated where there were different copies, and published from the originals, by G. Steevens, 4 vols., 8vo.	1766
King Lear, Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello and Julius Cæsar, collated with the old and modern editions, by C. Jennens, 8vo.	1770-4
Lear and Cymbeline, with remarks by the editor, Ambrose Eccles, 2 vols., 8vo.	Dublin, 1793
The same, <i>second edition</i>	London, 1801
The same, <i>third edition</i>	Dublin, 1805
Twenty plays, selected by Bowdler, 4 vols., 12mo.	1819
Mitchell's selection of Shakspeare's Popular Dramatic Works, 3 vols., 16mo.	1809
Hamlet and As You Like It, by T. Caldecott, royal 8vo.	1819
The same, <i>second edition</i>	1832
The School of Shakspeare, or select plays and scenes from Shakspeare, by R. Pitman, 8vo.	1822
The same, <i>second edition</i>	1834
The same, <i>third edition</i>	1845

Selections from Shakspeare, by C. Oakley, post 8vo.	1828
Popular Dramatic Works of Shakspeare, 4 vols., 8vo.	N.D.
Select Plays from Shakspeare, edited by E. Slater, 12mo.	1834
Shakspeare's Plays, arranged by Dr. J. Folsing, 2 vols., 12mo., containing Julius Cæsar, Richard III., and The Merchant of Venice	1840
A Selection of Shakspeare's Plays, by H. S. Pierre, 8 vols., 12mo.	1840
Select Plays of Shakspeare, <i>viz.</i> , Romeo and Juliet, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Julius Cæsar and Macbeth, 8vo.	1840
Shakspeare's Selected Plays, adapted to the use of Youth, 2 vols., 12mo.	1846
Select Plays of Shakspeare, with Notes by Howell, 12mo.	1848
Selections from Shakspeare's Plays, by C. Oakley, post 8vo.	1854
Selections from the Plays of Shakspeare, as arranged for representation at the Princess Theatre, by Charles Kean, 2 vols., foolscap 8vo.	1860
Shakspeare for Schools, with an Appendix of References, adapted to Penny Readings, by the Rev. C. Lenny, D.D., late of St. John's College, Cambridge, small 8vo.	1864
The same, <i>second edition</i>	1865
Othello and the Merry Wives of Windsor, with <i>coloured illustrations</i> , small 4to.	1864
Extracts from Shakspeare, for school use, with a description of the Plot of each Play, by L. C. Gent, foolscap 8vo.	1865

- The Prince's Shakspeare, a selection of the Plays of Shakspeare, carefully expurgated and annotated for the use of Families and Schools, by the Rev. D. Mathias, M.A., crown 8vo., vol. 1 1867
- Shakspeare for Schools and Families, being a Selection and Abridgment of the principal Plays, for School, College and Family Reading, edited by Thomas Shorter, 8vo. 1868
- Shakspeare's Plays, abridged and revised for the use of Girls, by Rosa Baugham, 2 vols., 8vo. 1863-69
- The English Reader, by Dagleish, in three parts, being a Selection of Shakspeare's Plays, crown 8vo. 1871
- The number of editions of selections is thirty.
- The number of plays in each selection varying from two to twenty.

Of the separate editions of the plays of Shakspeare there has been a great number published, and many of these editions are at variance with each other. A large number of them have been adapted for representation by various so-called improvers, in which much of the language of Shakspeare is omitted and much of their own inserted. This mode of procedure was more prevalent in the last century than in our own times, for now, the editions run more closely to the original text; and this result is mainly owing to the multitudinous editions of the complete works and the low price thereof, whereby the general public have become much better acquainted with the true text than they were wont to be.

COMEDIES : The Tempest, *forty editions* ; The Two Gentlemen of Verona, *eleven* ; The Merry Wives of Windsor, *thirty-three* ; Twelfth Night, *nineteen* ; Measure for Measure, *sixteen* ; Much Ado about Nothing, *twenty-five* ;

A Midsummer Night's Dream, *thirty-nine*; Love's Labour's Lost, *eleven*; The Merchant of Venice, *forty-seven*; As You Like It, *twenty-three*; All's Well that Ends Well, *ten*; The Taming of the Shrew, *thirty-one*; The Winter's Tale, *twenty-nine*; The Comedy of Errors, *sixteen*.

HISTORIES: King John, *thirty-six*; Richard II., *twenty-nine*; Henry IV., part 1, *twenty-nine*; Henry IV., part 2, *twenty-six*; Henry V., *twenty-five*; Henry VI., part 1, *five*; part 2, *five*; part 3, *ten*; Richard III., *forty-four*; Henry VIII., *twenty-four*.

TRAGEDIES: Macbeth, *forty-seven*; Troilus and Cressida, *thirteen*; Timon of Athens, *thirteen*; Coriolanus, *twenty-two*; Julius Cæsar, *forty*; Antony and Cleopatra, *seventeen*; Cymbeline, *twenty-seven*; Titus Andronicus, *eight*; Pericles, *thirteen*; King Lear, *fifty-one*; Romeo and Juliet, *fifty-three*; Hamlet, *seventy-six*; Othello, *fifty-one*.

Of the doubtful plays ascribed to Shakspeare *fourteen* editions have been published in connection with his collected works. Six of ~~these~~ doubtful plays appeared with Shakspeare's works in the third folio for the first time. The following separate editions have been published: Locrine, *two*; The London Prodigal, *one*; Lord Cromwell, *three*; The Puritan, *one*; The Merry Devil of Edmonton, *nine*; Sir John Oldcastle, *three*; and A Yorkshire Tragedy, *three*. In conjunction with these plays there are also several others which have been ascribed to Shakspeare, though it is said they do not contain any trace of the great master's hand. In some of them he is said to have simply assisted, by revising the labours of the author, and here and there giving form to the language, and adding to its strength. The Birth of Merlin is said to furnish an example of this

manner of one author aiding another; but the play is so poor, so wanting in intellectual force and poetic power, that it is almost impossible for Shakspeare to have had any share in the production of this thing of show and spectacle. The ascribing of the authorship in part or wholly to Shakspeare of these plays has been done chiefly by the German critics, who, in most of their instances, have evidently forgot the wit and humour, the great knowledge of humanity, the high poetic faculty and his still more wonderful power of characterisation. The titles of the other plays are as follows, and the number of editions thereof published separately is added thereto :—*Arden of Faversham*, *seven* ; *The Birth of Merlin*, *two* ; *The Double Falsehood*, *two* ; *Edward III.*, *four* ; *Fair Emma*, *three* ; *Mucedorus*, *ten* ; *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *two* ; *The Arraignment of Paris*, *two* ; *George-a-Green*, *three* ; *Vortigern*, *two*. This latter tragedy was written by that notorious Shakspearean forger, William Henry Ireland, and on its production at Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on April 2nd, 1796, it was a failure, the line—

And when this solemn mockery is o'er,
giving the coup-de-grace to this weak imitation of the
Shakspearean drama.

By the late school of Shakspearean editors and critics, embracing Knight, Campbell, Hazlitt, Singer, Dyce and Walker, most of these plays were rejected as unworthy of the great master's name, and condemned as spurious productions, in which he was in no way connected. The reasons assigned are of a very strong character, for it is most undeniably shown that there is a complete absence of any external evidence of their being written by Shakspeare, and this position is still further strengthened by the fact, that they are wanting

in the richness of imagination, the fulness of thought, the play of wit and fancy, and, above all, the truthfulness and intimate knowledge of man which is always to be found in the works of Shakspeare. Messrs. Walker and Dyce were, however, of opinion that portions of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* belonged to Shakspeare, for the first act they said bears indisputable marks of his hand, as does also a portion of the third and fifth acts. The labours of the New Shakspeare Society seem to lead to similar conclusions, for the spirit of criticism which has arisen therein and is being developed in the various papers read before that body, asserts, that the hand of Shakspeare is not only traceable in Fletcher's play of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, but in several of the others. Whatever may be the result brought about in the future world of Shakspearean criticism, at present no evidence of a sufficiently conclusive character has yet been adduced to establish the truth of this position.

Of editions of the Poems, there have been published separately, *Venus and Adonis*, *seventeen*; of the *Rape of Lucrece*, *ten*; of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, *five*; of the *Sonnets*, *eighteen*; and of the *Songs*, *seven*. Of collected editions of the poems, published separately from the complete works of Shakspeare, there have been published no less than *forty-two*.

The number of works published in our own language, in which the writers seek to elucidate and illustrate the works of Shakspeare is truly marvellous. Every year adds materially to their number, for controversies are constantly cropping up between the various critics as to the incidents of the poet's life, and as to the meanings and readings of his text, whereby much information and knowledge is imparted. Not less than seven hundred works have been published, many of which have ran

through several editions. No author can boast of so numerous an array of commentators and illustrators; and no other author's works could have been capable of bearing such a mass of learning and critical acumen, and not unfrequently a great amount of rubbish. The publication of these works, however, proves the great popularity of the Bard of Avon, both in the literary and critical world, as well as amongst the general public. Amongst all classes his works have gradually worked their way, and there are now few persons to be met with who have not either read, or know his works by representation.

The following selection embraces the principal works published in that class of Shakspearean literature, which includes the biographical and the critical. Many of them, especially those written within the last eighty years, will well repay perusal, for they certainly serve to expand the breadth and massiveness of Shakspeare's proportions, to promote a deeper insight and a greater knowledge of his works, and enkindle a love and admiration of the complete understanding of the nature of humanity, its development and realization, which is ever found in the pages of his precious volume.

The Tragedies of the last age considered and examined by the practice of the Ancients, by Thomas Rymer, 8vo.	1678
The Impartial Critic; or, some Observations on Mr. Rymer's late book, entitled a short View of Tragedy, by John Dennis, 4to.	1692
An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakspeare, by John Dennis, 8vo.	1712
Critical Observations on Shakspeare, by John Upton, 8vo.	1746

Shakespear Illustrated; or, the Novels and Histories on which the plays of Shakespear are founded, by Charlotte Lennox, 3 vols., 12mo.	1753-4
Dr. Johnson's Preface to his edition of Shakspeare, 8vo.	1765
Prefaces to Shakspeare's Plays, by Dr. Johnson, Mr. Pope, Mr. Theobald, Sir J. Hamner and Dr. Warburton, with some account of the life of Shakspeare, by Rowe	1765
An Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare, by Dr. Richard Farmer, 8vo.	1767
An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakspeare, compared with Greek and French Dramatic Poets, with remarks upon the misrepresentations of M. de Voltaire, by Mrs. Montagu, 8vo.	1769
A Philosophical Analysis, and Illustrations of some of Shakspeare's Characters, by W. Richardson, 12mo.	1774
The Morality of Shakspeare's Dramas, by Mrs. Griffiths, 8vo.	1775
An Essay on the Dramatic character of Sir John Falstaff, by Mr. Morgan, 8vo.	1777
Modern Characters from Shakspeare, alphabetically arranged, 12mo.	1778
Remarks, Critical and Illustrative, on the text and notes of Shakspeare, by Joseph Ritson, 8vo.	1783
An Essay on the character of Hamlet, by Thomas Robertson, 4to.	1788
An index to remarkable passages and words made use of by Shakspeare, by S. Aycough, royal 8vo.	1790

Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments
under the Hand and Seal of William
Shakspeare, by W. H. Ireland, imperial 4to. 1796

This work is entirely composed of forged papers, and their publication led to a long controversy between Shakspearean commentators. For nine years this controversy was continued with much bitterness and personality, and it was ultimately closed by the confession of the author of the forgery, W. H. Ireland, in his work containing "the particulars of his fabrications of the Shakspeare MS.," published in 1805.

A complete Verbal Index to the Plays of
Shakspeare, by Francis Twiss, 2 vols., 8vo. 1805-7

Illustrations of Shakspeare and of Ancient Man-
ners, with Dissertations on the Clowns and
Fools of Shakspeare, on Gesta Romanorum,
and on the English Morris Dance, by
Francis Douce, 2 vols., 8vo. .. 1807

Comments on the Commentators of Shakspeare,
by John Pye, 8vo. .. 1807

Comments on the several editions of Shak-
spere's Plays by the Right Hon. John
Monck Mason, 8vo. .. 1807

Schlegel's (A. W.) Course of Lectures on Dra-
matic Art and Literature, translated from
the German, by J. Black, 2 vols., 8vo. .. 1815

This work was reprinted and published by Bohn in one volume in 1846. The portion of the work that dwells upon the works of Shakspeare commences at page 338 and extends to page 446. There is much merit and originality to be found in this work, and the criticisms are most able and genial.

Characters of Shakspeare's Plays, by William
Hazlitt, 8vo. .. 1817

Shakspeare and his Times; including the Bio-
graphy of the Poet, Criticism on his Genius
and his Writings, &c., by Nathan Drake,
2 vols., 4to. .. 1817

- The Life of Shakspeare, by E. Malone, with an Essay on the Phraseology of the Poet and his Contemporaries, by J. Boswell, 8vo. 1821
- A Glossary ; or, a Collection of Words, Phrases, Names and Allusions to Customs, Proverbs, &c., which have been thought to require illustration in the works of English Authors, particularly Shakspeare, by Archdeacon Nares, 4to. 1822
- This work has been re-edited by J. O. Halliwell and Thomas Wright, and their revised edition was published in 2 vols., 8vo., in 1859.
- Life of Shakspeare ; Enquiries into the Originality of his Dramas, Plots and Characters ; and Essays on the Ancient Theatres and Theatrical Usages, by H. Skottowe, 2 vols., 8vo. 1824
- Essay on the Genius of Shakspeare, with Critical Remarks on the Characters of Romeo, Hamlet, Juliet and Ophelia, by H. M. Graves, post 8vo. 1826
- Memorials of Shakspeare ; or, Sketches of his Character and Genius, by various writers, now first collected, with a prefatory and concluding notice, by N. Drake, 8vo. . . 1828
- Characteristics of Women ; Moral, Political and Historical, with numerous illustrations from the author's designs, by Mrs. Jameson, 2 vols., 8vo. 1832

In this work the heroines of Shakspeare are most fully and ably criticised, for the authoress has brought to her task a well-stored and cultivated mind, with strong perceptive powers, and a real love for the author whose creations she analyses. She has divided the heroines into four classes : (1) characters of intellect, in which she includes Portia, Isabella, Beatrice and Rosalind ; (2) characters of

passion and imagination : Juliet, Helena, Perdita, Viola, Ophelia and Miranda ; (3) characters of the affections ; Hermione, Desdemona and Cordelia ; (4) historical characters ; Cleopatra, Octavia, Volumnia, Constance of Bretagne, Elinor of Guenue, Blanche of Castile, Margaret of Anjou, Katharine of Arragon, and Lady Macbeth.

New Facts regarding the Life of Shakspeare by			
J. P. Collier, post 8vo.	..	..	1835
New Particulars regarding the works of Shakspeare, by J. P. Collier, post 8vo.			
	..		1836
Farther Particulars regarding Shakspeare and his Works, by J. P. Collier, post 8vo.			
	..		1839
William Shakspeare : a Biography, by Charles Knight, 8vo.			
	..	..	1842
Shakspeare's Library : a collection of the Novels, Tales and Romances used by Shakspeare in the fabrication of his Dramas ; now first collected and printed from the early editions, with introductory Notes, by J. P. Collier, 2 vols., 8vo.			
	..	..	1843
Life of Shakspeare with a History of the Early English Stage, by J. P. Collier, 8vo.			
	..		1844
New Illustrations of the Life, Studies and Writings of Shakspeare, by Joseph Hunter, 2 vols., 8vo.			
	..	..	1845
Shakspeare's Dramatic Art and his relation to Calderon and Goethe, by Dr. H. Ulrici, translated from the German, 8vo.			
	..		1846
Studies of Shakspeare, with Observations and Criticisms, by G. Fletcher, crown 8vo.			
	..		1847
An Enquiry into the Philosophy and Religion of Shakspeare, by W. J. Birch, M.A., crown 8vo.			
	..	..	1848
Life of Shakspeare, including many particulars respecting the Poet and his Family never before published, by J. O. Halliwell, 8vo.			
			1848

- Lectures on Shakspeare, by H. N. Hudson,
2 vols., crown 8vo., New York .. 1848
- Notes and Lectures upon Shakspeare and some
of the Old Poets and Dramatists, with other
Literary Remains, by S. T. Coleridge,
edited by Sara Coleridge, 2 vols., 12mo. .. 1849
- Studies of Shakspeare ; forming a Companion
to every edition of the Text, by C. Knight,
8vo. 1849
- Shakspeare and his Times, with Notices of his
principal Dramas, translated from the
French of Guizot, 8vo. 1852
- Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shak-
speare's Plays, from the early manuscript
corrections in a copy of the folio of 1632,
in the possession of J. P. Collier, 8vo. . . 1853

The publication of this volume led to a very strong controversy, in which the Rev. A. Dyce, J. O. Halliwell, Hardy, R. G. White, Ingleby, Knight, Singer and Sir F. Madden took an active part in opposition to J. P. Collier and the supporters of the Perkins emendations, foremost of whom was the Athenæum. Some warmth of temper was exhibited in the controversy in conjunction with some amount of personality, and much industry and research were also displayed. The general conclusion held by most of those who had engaged in the struggle and by those who had read with attention the articles and works that had been produced, was, that most of the emendations were fabrications of Mr. Collier, and the others, simply the gathering together of suggestions of various critics, many of which had already been accepted.

- Shakspeare's Scholar ; being Historical and
Critical Studies of his Text, Characters and
Commentators, by Richard Grant White,
8vo. *New York*, 1854
- Shakspeare's Versification, and its apparent
irregularities, explained by examples from
early and late English Writers, by W. Sid-

- ney Walker, edited by W. N. Lettsom,
foolscap 8vo. 1854
- Seven Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton, by
the late S. T. Coleridge, edited by J. P.
Collier, 8vo. 1856

These Lectures were delivered at the Scot's Corporation Hall, in Crane Court, Fleet Street, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, at the close of the year 1811 and the beginning of 1812. Mr. Collier states they are printed from his original notes, and though they fail to do justice to the man and the subject, he holds they contain "criticisms, observations, and opinions, well worthy of attention from their truth, their eloquence, and their originality." In this volume Mr. Collier also gives a list of every manuscript note and emendation contained in his copy of the folio of 1632. They are arranged in parallel columns, and the suggested alteration or emendation is printed in italic.

- Shakspeare's England ; or, Sketches of our Social
History in the reign of Elizabeth, by
G. W. Thornbury, 2 vols., crown 8vo. 1856
- Remarks on the Differences in Shakspeare's
Versification in different periods of his Life,
by C. Bathurst, foolscap 8vo. 1857
- The English of Shakspeare, illustrated in a
philological commentary on Julius Cæsar,
by G. L. Craik, 12mo. 1857
- The Philosophy of the plays of Shakspeare Un-
folded, by Delia Bacon, with a Preface by
Nathaniel Hawthorne, 8vo. 1857

The principal object sought to be achieved by this work, is to show that Shakspeare was not the author of the various comedies, histories and tragedies, usually ascribed to him, and that the authorship belongs to the great philosopher, Lord Bacon. That the authoress does not succeed in her undertaking is self evident from a perusal of her work. The attempt gave rise to very little controversy in this country,—Miss Bacon's work falling almost still-born from the press. This same opinion was advocated by William Henry Smith, who seems to have arrived at his conclusion entirely independent of Miss Bacon, though, like her, he fails to substantiate his "crazy notion."

- Lectures on English History and Tragic Poetry,
as illustrated by Shakspeare, by Henry Reed,
crown 8vo. 1858
- New Exegis of Shakspeare, and the interpretation
of his Plays on the principle of Races, 8vo. 1859
- Critical Examination of the Text of Shakspeare,
together with Notes on his Plays and Poems,
by the late W. S. Walker, edited by W. N.
Lettsom, 3 vols., foolscap 8vo. 1859
- “Very often we find ourselves differing from Mr. Walker on
readings and interpretations, but we seldom differ from him without
respect for his scholarship and care. His are not the wild guesses
at truth which neither gods nor men have stomach to endure, but the
suggestions of a trained intelligence and a chastened taste. Future
editors and commentators will be bound to consult these volumes,
and consider their suggestions.”—*Athenæum*.
- The Psychology of Shakspeare, by Dr. Bucknill,
8vo. 1859
- Shakspeare Papers: Pictures Grave and Gay,
by W. Maginn, post 8vo. 1859
- Remarks on the Medical Knowledge of Shak-
spere, by Dr. Bucknill, 8vo. 1860
- The Mind of Shakspeare, by the Rev. A. Morgan,
foolscap 8vo. 1861
- Shakspeare, the Player and the Poet, Facts and
Traditions concerning Shakspeare, by W. S.
Fullom, 8vo. 1861
- Shakspeare; a Critical Biography, and an es-
timate of the Facts, Fancies, Forgeries and
Fabrications regarding his Life and Works,
which have appeared in remote and recent
Literature, by Samuel Neil, crown 8vo. 1861
- The Received Text of Shakspeare’s Dramatic
Works, and its improvement, by Samuel
Bailey, vol. 1, 8vo. 1862

The second volume was not published till 1866.

Shakspere Commentaries, by Professor Gervinus, translated under the author's superintendence, from the second German edition, by Miss F. E. Bunnett, 2 vols., 8vo. 1862

This is a most valuable addition to Shaksperean literature, for its author is thoroughly familiar with most of that which Shakspere himself had wrote, and also with most of that had been written about him. It is a work which is held in very high esteem by the German people, who, we are told look upon it as "a critical and historical work, unmatched in the literature of any country for the power of appreciation and the critical acumen which are brought to bear upon the great author under illustration. Not only does Gervinus give a life of the dramatist, based on the elaborate materials which English literature has provided, but he analyses each play, investigates its tendencies, follows it in its development, and examines with the most minute detail every character in it, subordinate as well as principal."—*Thimm's Shakspariana*, p. 55.

Shakspere Characters, chiefly those subordinate,
by Charles Cowden Clarke, 8vo. .. 1863
A Study of Hamlet, by Dr. Conolly, foolscap
8vo. 1863
Shakspere's Home at New Place, Stratford-on-
Avon, by J. C. M. Bellew, crown 8vo. .. 1863
Notes, Criticisms and Correspondence upon
Shakspere's Plays, by J. H. Hackett, 12mo.
New York, 1863
Shakspere, by Victor Hugo, 8vo. 1864

This is one of the best works that has been written on Shakspere by a French author. It is somewhat digressive in its character, yet the digressions are pleasing. The life of Shakspere is most effectively sketched by M. Hugo. There is nothing new in the details, but they are manipulated with great skill, producing an air of novelty which is quite refreshing to the reader. With M. Hugo "Hamlet is the chef d'œuvre of the tragedy dream."

The Life and Genius of Shakspere, by Thomas
Kenny, 8vo. 1864
Shakspere in Germany in the sixteenth and
seventeenth centuries, an Account of

- the English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands, by Albert Cohen, 4to. .. 1864
- An Historical Account of New Place, the residence of Shakspeare at Stratford-upon-Avon, by J. O. Halliwell, with numerous engravings and facsimiles, folio .. 1864
- The Life Portraits of William Shakspeare; a History of the various representations of the Poet, with an examination into their Authenticity, by J. H. Friswell, illustrated by photographs, small 4to. .. 1864
- Shakspeare, his Birthplace, Home and Grave; a Pilgrimage to Stratford-on-Avon in the Autumn of 1863, by the Rev. J. M. Jephson, with photographic illustrations, small 4to. 1864
- Shakspeare: his Inner Life, as intimated in his writings, by John A. Heraud, 8vo. .. 1865

This is a work in which the intellectual development of Shakspeare is chiefly treated. The suggestions with regard to the Poet's private character are very few. His moral nature and his intellectual method are the two aspects most prominently dwelt on, and these are treated in an original manner.

William Shakspeare, by Cardinal Wiseman, 8vo. 1865

This is a mere fragment. It was the author's intention to have delivered it as a lecture, but it was never completed, nor did he ever attempt to deliver it. The Cardinal knew not Shakspeare by representation, nor through the aid of annotated editions; his love and knowledge of his works being gathered from study of the text. He places Shakspeare with Homer and Dante in height of genius and power with mankind.

Shakspeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible,
by Bishop Wordsworth, crown 8vo. .. 1864

Memoirs of the Life of William Shakspeare,
with an Essay towards the expression of
his genius, and an account of the rise and

- progress of the English Drama, by R. G. White, post 8vo. 1865
- Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakspeare; with the Sonnets showing that they belong to the Hermetic class of writings, and explaining the general meaning and purpose, small 8vo. *New York*, 1865
- Shakspeare Sonnets, never before interpreted; his private friends identified; together with a recovered likeness of himself, by Gerald Massey, 8vo. 1866
- Shakspeare's Delineations of Insanity, Imbecility and Suicide, by A. O. Kellogg, 8vo. *New York*, 1866
- The Shakspeare Expositor: an aid to the perfect understanding of Shakspeare's Plays, by Thomas Keightley, foolscap 8vo. 1867
- The Mad Folk of Shakspeare, by Dr. Bucknill, *second edition*, crown 8vo. 1867
- The Authorship of Shakspeare, by Nathaniel Holmes, crown 8vo. *New York*, 1867
- This work was written in support of the opinions enunciated by Miss Delia Bacon, and of the two works the *North American Review* for January, 1867, thus pithily remarks:—"we have earned the right by hard labour to assert that there is not in the 1,100 pages of Delia Bacon and Judge Holmes the shadow of a shade of an argument in support of their wild and most absurd hypothesis. Bacon was as little capable of writing "Shakspeare's Plays" as any other man."—"Within that circle none durst walk but he."
- A Dictionary of the Language of Shakspeare, by the late Swynfen Jervis, demy 4to. 1868
- An introduction to the Philosophy of Shakspeare's Sonnets, by Richard Simpson, crown 8vo. 1868
- Shakspeare's Treasury of Wisdom and Knowledge, by F. Stearns, crown 8vo. 1869
- Shakspeareana Genealogia, by George Russell Trench, 8vo. 1869

- The Sonnets of Shakspeare solved, with the mystery of his friendships, love and rivalry revealed ; with new information about Sir P. Sidney's Sonnets and the poetry of the period, by Henry Brown, 8vo. 1869
- Shakspeare and the Emblem Writers of his age, with illustrations from the original woodcuts and engravings, by Henry Green, M.A., medium 8vo. 1870
- Notes and conjectural emendations of certain doubtful passages in Shakspeare's Plays, by P. A. Daniel, crown 8vo. 1870
- A Shaksperian Grammar: an attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English, by E. A. Abbott, M.A., crown 8vo. 1870
- Of this work no less than three editions were called for in the first year of its publication. This success led to considerable additions and encouraged its "author to endeavour to make the work somewhat more useful, and to render it, as far as possible, a complete book of reference for all difficulties of Shakspearean syntax or prosody."
- The Method of Shakspeare as an artist, deduced from an Analysis of his leading Tragedies and Comedies, by H. Ruggles, crown 8vo.,
New York, 1871
- The Ornithology of Shakspeare, by J. E. Hartwig 1872
- Shakspeare Commentaries, by Professor Gervinus, translated by Miss F. E. Bunnett, *second edition*, 2 vols., 8vo. 1874

Of illustrated editions of the works of Shakspeare a very large number have been published, yet without taking these into consideration, the number of special illustrated works relating to the Shakspearean drama is very great, not less than *ninety* works of engravings

have been published in the United Kingdom, illustrative of the characters, scenes, costumes, and incidents of the plays and poems. Nor has Music, twin-sister of Poetry, failed to wed her charms to the poet's strains. The names of Locke, Arne, Purcell, Arnold, Linley, Boyce, Nicks, Walsh, Horn, Bishop, Mendelssohn, Hatton, and Macfarren, afford a striking example of the popularity of the poet's lines and of the wealth of talent, in the world of sweet sounds, which has been devoted to his works.

In other lands the fame of our bard is a fact of the day. In some, so much so, that it hath been remarked, that Shakspeare in Germany is better known and understood than in his own country. This is, however, an exaggerated statement, possessing only an approximation to the truth, not the absolute truth. It is most undeniable that much attention has been given to the works of Shakspeare by the German literary world, and the results of this attention and study have also been given to the German nation, still it has not been nor can it be shown that the German people possess that close acquaintance, amounting to familiarity, which distinguishes the English people, and which has left its impress upon our national character: yet it cannot be doubted, that the works of Shakspeare are very highly estimated and valued in the land of Germany, and that they have exerted great influence in their relation to German dramatic art.

Before the year 1599, some of Shakspeare's works were made known to the German people by the companies of English actors who made tours through the German states. From the commencement of the seventeenth century to the year 1640, several of the plays of Shakspeare were played before the various

courts and also in several of the German towns. The Thirty Years' War, however, effected a complete change in the taste of the German people, and the French classic drama became the rage, and it is only in an indirect way that the name of Shakspeare during this period is mentioned by any German author. In 1682, in a work on Poesie, by Morhoff, the name of Shakspeare occurs, though the writer knows not his works. In 1708, Barthold Fiends mentions "the famous English tragedian Shakspeare." In 1740, the name of Shakspeare occurs in the works of Boden. In 1741, Baron Von Borck, the Prussian ambassador at London, translated "Julius Cæsar" into German Alexandrines. From 1741 to 1758 some faint voices were raised in praise of the works of Shakspeare, but with little or no result. In 1759, a German author, K. C. Canzler, published a work in opposition to the progress of Shakspeare in Germany, but his effort was not a successful one. In the same year G. E. Lessing, one of the greatest of the German critics and the true regenerator of the German drama, first used his powerful pen in defence of the works of Shakspeare. From 1762 to 1794, he was the chief introducer and upholder of Shakspeare among the German literari and the German people. His efforts were materially assisted by the labours of Herder and Goethe, and by the non-existence of any national taste among their countrymen. The German people naturally revolted against the classic frigidity of the French school of dramatists, whose constant observance of the unities resulted in a continuous series of tragedies, always possessing the same features. "Hence," as Goethe observes, "French tragedies are parodies of themselves." The national representatives of poetry and poetic feeling at that time were very feeble, and the German nation

was aroused by Shakspeare's "colossal strength, profundity of thought, originality and audacity of language, his beauty, pathos, sublimity, wit, and wild overflowing humour, and his accuracy of observation, as well as depth of insight into the mysteries of passion and character." *

The estimation in which Shakspeare was held by the German people in the 18th century has in no way decreased in the present. On the contrary, it has much increased, and the general result of that estimation is best shown in the numerous editions of his collected works which have appeared in Germany, in the numerous editions of separate plays, in the number of the works which have been published illustrative of his meaning, and in their constant attempts to show his influence upon the progress and development of the English language.

Of the complete works of Shakspeare there have been published in Germany *forty-eight* editions. Of editions of the plays published separately there have appeared :—

COMEDIES : All's Well that Ends Well, *eleven* ; As You Like It, *twelve* ; Comedy of Errors, *twelve* ; Love's Labour Lost, *eleven* ; The Merchant of Venice, *twenty* ; Measure for Measure, *eight* ; The Merry Wives of Windsor, *eighteen* ; A Midsummer Night's Dream, *twenty* ; Much Ado about Nothing, *eleven* ; The Taming of the Shrew, *fourteen* ; Twelfth Night, *eleven* ; The Tempest, *seventeen* ; and The Winter's Tale, *eleven*.

HISTORIES : Henry IV., parts 1 and 2, *thirteen* ; Henry V., *nine* ; Henry VI., the three parts, *eight* ; Henry VIII., *ten* ; King John, *eleven* ; Richard II., *fifteen* ; Richard III., *seventeen*.

TRAGEDIES : Antony and Cleopatra, *twenty-one* ;

* Lewes' *Life of Goethe*, p. 90.

Coriolanus, *twenty*; Hamlet, *fifty-three*; Julius Cæsar, *twenty-seven*; King Lear, *twenty-two*; Macbeth, *thirty-nine*; Othello, *twenty-two*; Pericles, *eight*; Romeo and Juliet, *thirty-five*; Timon of Athens, *twelve*; Titus Andronicus, *eleven*.

Of plays ascribed to Shakspeare by the German critics, there have been published the following editions: Yorkshire Tragedy, *five*; Locrine, *five*; The Merry Devil of Edmonton, *six*; Sir John Oldcastle, *six*; Lord Cromwell, *five*; The London Prodigal, *eight*; The Puritan Widow, *five*; The Pinner of Wakefield, *three*; Edward III., *three*; The Birth of Merlin, *two*; Fair Emma, *two*; and Arden of Feversham, *five*.

Of the poems *ten* collected editions have been published. Of the sonnets, separately published, *seven* editions; of Venus and Adonis, *three*; and of the Rape of Lucrece, *three*.

To enumerate the articles which have appeared in the various German literary journals would be a task of some labour and no little difficulty, for it would "take all the swift advantage of the hours" and leave their number yet untold, for to "tell the legions I can never." Apart from fugitive articles, the number of distinct works which have been written and published in the German language does not amount to less than *two hundred and forty*.

Besides these, *twenty* volumes of plates, by German artists, have also been published illustrative of Shakspeare's works, and the Collier controversy has reached the land of Germany, for five writers on that subject have appeared in the field. Among the principal German critics may be mentioned the names of Lessing, Schlegel, Tieck, Horn, Skottowe, Simrock, Engel, Ranke, Goethe, Herder, Ulrici, Delius, Morgenblatt, Lemcke, Woeffel, and Gervinus.

The state of feeling of the German people with regard to Shakspeare, disclosed in the foregoing facts, requires no comment. In the year 1864, they far excelled in their celebration of the Shakspeare tercentenary our own efforts at home, and the more certain to continue this admiration and to keep before the German public the works of Shakspeare, the Berlin Society for the Promotion of the Study of Modern Languages, offered prizes for essays on the following subjects :—I. “Shakspeare’s Influence on the Development of the English Language.” These essays comprise,—1. An Account of the condition of the English language used by writers immediately preceding Shakspeare. 2. Illustrations from the works of Shakspeare, showing the gradual development of the language. 3. An investigation of the relation of the peculiarities of Shakspeare’s language to those of his contemporaries. 4. Examples showing the influence of Shakspeare on the language of English poetry. II. “A History of the Criticism of the Shakspearean Drama in Germany and the countries of the Romance languages.” The essays may be written in either English, French, or German. In 1864, a German Shakspeare Society, with its centre in Weimar, was established by Messrs. Ulrici, Dingelstedt, Oechelhaüser, Rodenstedt, Eckhardt, Gottschall, Koster, Lemcke, Leo, and Marshall. The object of this society is to illustrate the Poet’s text, and to spread a knowledge of his poetry among German readers. The first year has been eminently successful, and so also have the succeeding years. They have founded a Shakspeare library in Weimar, established a Shakspeare Year Book, with a certainty of its continuance for some years. Professor Rodenstedt is the editor of the year book, and Dr. Kobenstein is to furnish thereto a history of Shakspeare in Germany. The tenth General Meeting of this Society

was held at Weimar, on the 23rd of April last, and the eleventh annual volume of the Society was published in the following month.

In *France*, the works of Shakspeare have made progress, though the school of which Shakspeare is the representative, is widely different to that of the French. In 1745-48, *Cymbeline*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*, had been introduced to the French stage by Ducis, much to the admiration of the play-goers of the city of Paris. These pieces are not really reproductions or translations of Shakspeare,—they are French tragedies based upon Shakspearean elements. The success of Ducis awakened the curiosity of his cultivated countrymen, and made them anxious to become acquainted with the works of Shakspeare. In 1749, appeared the first criticism upon the works of Shakspeare in France. It was written by Voltaire, and though he judged the English bard by the rules of the school in which he himself had been trained and educated, and accordingly by them condemned Shakspeare as an artist, yet he failed not to point out the great genius which marks the poet's productions. His taste was offended by what Voltaire considered Shakspeare's violations of rules, and he therefore admired him most as a great poet, and not as a dramatist. In 1776, Voltaire produced his celebrated letter to the French Academy, in which he displayed his fears that the taste for the legitimate drama among his countrymen was in danger of being destroyed by the growing taste which the French people evinced for Shakspeare, whose collected works had just been translated by Le Tourneur, and published in France. In spite of Voltaire's opposition, Shakspeare slowly but surely affected the French taste. Gradually the expansion of the French mind took place, and now the influence of Shakspeare

upon the French drama and French literature is very great. During the present century Shakspeare has been translated and commented upon by Guizot, Barante, Villemain, Duport, Chasles, Deschamps, De Vigny, Victor Hugo, and others. Remarkable is the change in French opinion from the time of Voltaire to the present, for Alfred de Vigny, who has been a constant student of Shakspeare for 29 years, holds that Shakspeare has soared to the highest point that modern tragedy can reach ; and that he has arrived there by his disregard of artificial rules, which allowed full scope for his magnificent genius. In this opinion he is supported by the most brilliant of French dramatists, M. Victor Hugo, who above all other dramatists placeth William Shakspeare. This state of opinion in France relative to the merits of Shakspeare has not been arrived at without much opposition. The disciples of Voltaire have from time to time attacked and sought to disparage the works of the bard of Avon, but their efforts have fortunately proved fruitless, for, to use the words of M. Nisard, "Time has elevated Shakspeare above criticism, probably because it has raised him above eulogium."

In the French language *nineteen* collected editions of the works of Shakspeare have been published. Of separate editions of the plays, the following numbers have been brought out :—

COMEDIES.—The Merchant of Venice, *seven* ; The Merry Wives of Windsor, *five* ; The Tempest, *two*.

HISTORIES.—Henry VI., the three parts ; King John, *one* ; and Richard III., *four*.

TRAGEDIES.—Antony and Cleopatra, *one* ; Coriolanus, *three* ; Cymbeline, *one* ; Hamlet, *fifteen* ; Macbeth, *seventeen* ; Julius Cæsar, *seven* ; Lear, *six* ; Othello, *eighteen* ; Romeo and Juliet, *nine* ; Timon of Athens, *five*.

In 1866, M. F. V. Hugo, the son of Victor Hugo, the talented poet, added two volumes to his translation of Shakspeare, under the title of *Les Apocryphes*, which contains Titus Andronicus, A Yorkshire Tragedy, The Two Noble Kinsmen, Edward III., and Arden of Feversham.

Of the poems and sonnets there have been published *four* editions; and *forty-eight* works, critical and illustrative of Shakspeare, have appeared in France. The fugitive articles which have been published in the various French literary journals on the works of Shakspeare, are very numerous.

In the *Italian* language *four* editions of the collected works of Shakspeare have been published, besides the undermentioned plays, of which separate editions have appeared :—

COMEDIES.—The Tempest, *three* ; A Midsummer Night's Dream, *two* ; and The Merchant of Venice, *one*.

HISTORIES.—King John, *one* ; Richard II., *two* ; Henry IV., *two* ; and Richard III., *three*.

TRAGEDIES.—Coriolanus, *two* ; Cymbeline, *two* ; Hamlet, *three* ; Julius Cæsar, *four* ; King Lear, *two* ; Macbeth, *five* ; Othello, *six* ; and Romeo and Juliet, *nine*.

Three works, critical and explanatory, have also been published in the Italian language.

In the *Danish* language *three* editions of the collected works of Shakspeare have been published. Of separate plays the following editions have been published :—The Tempest, *one* ; Merchant of Venice, *one* ; Hamlet, *two* ; Twelfth Night, *one* ; King Lear, *two* ; Richard III., *one* ; and Macbeth, *two*.

In the *Dutch* language only one complete edition of the works of Shakspeare has at present been produced.

In 1778 to 1782, an edition of selections was published, embracing fourteen of the plays. Of separate editions of the plays, the following have been published :—

COMEDIES.—As You Like it, Comedy of Errors, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Taming the Shrew, and The Two Gentlemen of Verona, *one* edition each ; The Merchant of Venice and The Tempest, *four* editions each ; and Much Ado about Nothing, *two* editions.

HISTORIES.—Henry IV. and King John, *one* edition each ; and Richard III., *three* editions.

TRAGEDIES.—Coriolanus, Julius Cæsar, Pericles, and King Lear, *one* edition each ; Romeo and Juliet, *two* editions ; Hamlet, *four* ; Antony and Cleopatra, *three* ; Othello, *six* ; Macbeth, *seven* ; and Titus Andronicus, *eight*.

Twelve writers among the Dutch have produced volumes upon the works of Shakspeare.

In the *Swedish* language *one* edition of the collected works has been published. This was translated by Professor Hagberg, of the University of Lun. The following plays have also been published separately :—Antony and Cleopatra, As You Like it, Hamlet, Richard III., King Lear, Twelfth Night, Macbeth, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Othello, Romeo and Juliet, and The Tempest, *one* edition each ; Julius Cæsar and The Merchant of Venice, *three* editions each. An edition of the Sonnets was published in 1871, translated by Professor C. R. Wyblom, of the University of Upsala.

In the *Russian* language *one* edition of the collected works has been published, and King Lear and The Merchant of Venice have each been published separately.

In the *Bohemian* language *one* edition of the col-

lected works has been published. The following plays have been published separately:—Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus, Cymbeline, Hamlet, Henry IV., Henry V., Julius Cæsar, King Lear, The Merchant of Venice, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Othello, and Richard III., *one* edition each ; Henry VI. and Romeo and Juliet, *two* editions each.

In the *Polish* language *two* editions of the collected works have been published, and *two* editions of selections have also been brought out. The following plays have been published separately:—All's Well that Ends Well, Julius Cæsar, King John, Macbeth, and Twelfth Night, *one* edition each ; The Merry Wives of Windsor and A Midsummer Night's Dream, *two* editions each.

In the *Hungarian* language one edition of the complete works has been published, and the following plays have been published separately:—The Tempest, Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Merry Wives of Windsor, and Measure for Measure, *one* edition each ; Twelfth Night, *two* editions.

In the *Friësic* language there has been published, The Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, and Julius Cæsar. In the *Romaic*, or Modern Greek, Hamlet and The Tempest. In the *Wallachian*, Romeo and Juliet. In the *Spanish*, Romeo and Juliet and Hamlet, *three* editions. In the *Portuguese*, Othello ; in *Hebrew*, Othello ; and in the *Bengalee*, The Merchant of Venice and Romeo and Juliet.

Apart from the native language of Shakspeare, editions of his complete works have been published in *ten* other European languages, and editions of a portion of his plays have been published in not less than *seventeen*. The total number of editions of his complete works which have appeared in various languages is

569; the number of editions of selections is 34; the number of works, critical and explanatory, written upon his life, plays and poems, 1,003; the number of editions of the plays published separately, is 1,843, including all the various editions, in their altered and unaltered forms; the number of editions of plays ascribed to him, is 134; the number of collected editions of his poems, is 56; of his poems published separately, 71; and the number of works of engravings, illustrative of his meaning, is 110.

These figures serve to show the extent and influence of the works of Shakspeare, an influence, which time will increase, not destroy, for their value and worth are being universally felt, known and acknowledged. Throughout our "broad and wide" world, a more complete knowledge is swiftly and surely extending of his "world's volume," so that he "wins of all." So high is the estimation in which his works are now held that the four corners of the earth are not "ignorant" of their worth, and all men and all nations readily yield their homage and admiration. This influence is won by their comprehensiveness, their beauty, and above all their truthfulness; and this influence will inevitably be lasting, for time must "forget itself," "blind oblivion swallow cities up," and "mighty states" be "grated to dusty nothing," ere Shakspeare's name and works shall fail to be loved, honoured and revered.



ON SHAKSPEREAN ACTING.

TRUE Shakspearean criticism is the growth of the last hundred years. Scarcely any of the Shakspearean critics of the early and middle part of the eighteenth century understood the nature and greatness of Shakspeare's works. Of the wonderful expansiveness of the myriad-minded bard they had no conception, neither did they comprehend the depth, strength, sweetness, gentleness, in fact, the universality of his genius. With some he was but a mere barbarian, warbling "his wood notes wild,"—a blind and wildly luxuriant genius, possessing no germ of artistic power; an untutored child of nature, whose works were distinguished by their irregularity and their want of judgment. That this view is altogether wrong, modern criticism has most triumphantly shown. This erratic poet is now found to be possessed of the most consummate power as an artist; that not alone in the splendour of his parts does his greatness consist, but in his observance of their true form in relation to the whole; that in conjunction with close study, he possessed the keenest powers of observation, and which ultimately led to his attainment of the highest pitch of dramatic art, combined with the most complete and accurate knowledge of the true development of the law of humanity.

What prevailed in the critical world, was also to be

found in the dramatic world of the same period. The actors of this time but little understood Shakspeare, nor could they grapple with the might and grandeur of his productions. Garrick, who, as an actor, has been most unjustly elevated to the topmost height, was but a mere muddler, when he sought to understand the aim and intent of the Shakspearean drama, and however powerful may have been his mimetic powers, he most unmistakably failed to grapple with the force, breadth and universality which marks the works of Shakspeare. He was one of the chief members of a school of tinkering dramatists, who, wrapt up in their own pettiness of vision, sought to add to the value and strength of the great master's work by their own infantine conceptions. In every instance of the so-called improvements which Garrick effected, he not only marred the beauty and meaning of the poet's lines, but he absolutely destroyed the force and truth of his characterisation. Such a course of procedure as this, arising as it did from a lack of power to grasp the form and structure of the Shakspearean drama, must serve, to a great extent, to lower the estimation in which Garrick should be held as an actor; for if he failed to understand his author—and that he did fail there cannot be any question—how was it possible for him to form a true conception; and if not capable of forming a true conception, how could he possibly pourtray in his attempts at representation, the intention and aim of the dramatist.

That Garrick did not possess great poetic powers is a fact that cannot be disputed: he was but a mere versifier, who sought to add beauty to that which was already beautiful, and to give strength and sweetness by the introduction of his own spurious ware. His mode of representing Shakspeare's plays may have

fallen in with the notions of the play-goers of his time, and with the class of critics who set themselves up as Shakspearean commentators, none of whom, if they are to be judged by their writings, understood the breadth and greatness of the poet of humanity. The plays of Shakspeare which Garrick altered, produced and published as his own versions, have, with but one exception, been banished from the stage, and that exception is "Katharine and Petruchio," one of the most detestable of his alterations;—one, in which broad buffoonery usurps the place of humour, and vulgar comicalities and trickery pass current for the variety of character so truthfully portrayed in Shakspeare's "The Taming of the Shrew." The breadth and unction of the introduction are entirely lost, and the remaining characters are but mere scarecrows, without the life and genius of the Shakspearean world. Garrick's alteration of "The Winter's Tale" affords further evidence of his want of power to understand the author he sought to improve. In his version, the first three acts of Shakspeare are nearly wholly left out, and the last two acts are so intermixed with the rubbish of Garrick, that a very singular mosaic is the result. Another proof of the greatness of Garrick as a Shakspearean actor, and his profound knowledge of the Shakspearean drama, is shown in his version of the tragedy of Hamlet. In his adaptation of this great work for the purposes of representation, he altered many of the scenes and changed the incidents and language;—he also omitted the characters of the grave-diggers and the grave-digging scene, because it was low and vulgar, a mere exposition of common-place humanity, which interfered with his notions of the gentility and grandeur of the tragedy, thus displaying the littleness of his knowledge of human

life and human character, and how incapable he was of understanding the poet whom he sought to pourtray.

To do full justice to the many-sidedness which characterizes some of Shakspeare's creations, and more especially that of Hamlet, requires an intellectual force and power that Garrick never possessed. He had not undergone that high mental training so necessary for the cultivation of his perceptive and reflective faculties, nor did he possess the requisite development of mental power to fathom the profound depths of the philosophic prince, and thus he could not have been great in his representation of the character, because he could not be true to the author's meaning.

The views and opinions held relative to this tragedy, and, in fact, to the whole of Shakspeare's works, have undergone a complete change. But little mental power in the early part of the last century was brought to bear upon the poet's works, and what little there was, was marred by the classic medium through which these writers looked. The knowledge which we now possess of Shakspeare's works has been gradually built up and developed by the critical writers of Germany, and those of our own country. From the commencement of the present century both English and German critics have been actively engaged in seeking to disseminate a more correct knowledge of the Shakspearean drama, yet most of the actors of this country from that time have not readily availed themselves of the advantages of such knowledge, nor have the great body of the actors of the present day made themselves conversant with the world of Shakspearean literature, in which this knowledge of, and development of the poet's meaning is to be found. How few actors have studied the works of Lessing, Goethe, Schlegel and Gervinus,

with a view to obtain a knowledge of Shakspeare, and how few have made a study of the criticisms of Coleridge, one of the most profound critics upon Shakspeare which our country has produced. The numerous Shakspearean works with which our literature now abounds, and whose character and tone has been materially assisted by our German brethren, have not yet had that deep perusal by the members of the dramatic profession that their importance demands, and until this is done, we shall fail to see that true interpretation of the tragedy of Hamlet which is so necessary to the success of the actor and the play. The advantage of the study of these writers upon Shakspeare, by the actors, arises in the fact, that the works which they have written prepare the actor for the perception of the whole, as well as his own part. They also add to the general knowledge of the intent of the dramatist, and thus the actor would be enabled to give a truer artistic interpretation, combined with a higher degree of intelligence, and, therefore, approximate more closely to a perfect representation of the poet's meaning.

The mind of Hamlet is essentially contemplative. He is constantly engaged in thought, evolving from within the nature and consequences of the deed he wishes to perform. Hamlet, as it were, foresees the result to himself and others if he takes action, and this knowledge prevents him from acting. Thus he allows opportunities to pass by, that would readily have been seized upon by those possessed of less mental powers, and would not like him have thought "too precisely upon the event." Inactivity is thus produced by great thinking,—such being the result of a high intellectual development. The greatness of Hamlet's intellectual powers requires an almost corresponding degree of

intellectual development in his representative; and unfortunately this force of character is mostly found wanting in those who seek to represent the Danish prince.

The public who now read Shakspeare and really make themselves familiar with his lines, will no longer tolerate the stilted style of acting of the past, nor the constant running in the conventional groove of the present. They want and require, apart from a special knowledge of the stage, that breadth of intellect which can comprehend and grapple with the subtlety and grandeur of the poet's meaning, when companies seek to represent such tragedies as Hamlet, and actors to personate such characters as the philosophic Prince of Denmark.

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